



S. Heir Mitchell
with regards of
Theodore Justice





*Engraved from the original seal brought to America
by John Mifflin, Sr., in 1679.*

LIFE AND ANCESTRY
OF
WARNER MIFFLIN

Friend—Philanthropist—Patriot

COMPILED BY
HILDA JUSTICE



Philadelphia
FERRIS & LEACH
29 NORTH SEVENTH STREET
1905

CS71
M53

Note

To the life-long interest and enthusiasm of Warner Mifflin's great-granddaughter, Sarah Mifflin Gay, is due in no small measure the stimulus that resulted in gathering the material contained in the following pages.

H. J.

PHILADELPHIA, *December, 1904.*

TO MY GREAT-AUNT
ELIZABETH JOHNS NEALL GAY
THE OLDEST LIVING DIRECT
DESCENDANT
OF
WARNER MIFFLIN

These pages are affectionately inscribed

M208980

CONTENTS.

Mifflin Genealogy	9
Extract from "Memoranda Relating to the Mifflin Family," by J. H. Merrill, 1890	24
An Account of the Mifflin Family, by Jonathan Mifflin, Sr., 1770	34
A Biographical Note on Warner Mifflin, by Sarah Mifflin Gay	38
Anecdote of Warner Mifflin from "The Letters of an American Farmer," by Hector St. John de Crèveœur, 1787	41
Extracts Relating to Warner Mifflin, from "New Travels in the United States," by J. P. Brissot de Warville, 1788	64
Anecdotes and Memoirs of Warner Mifflin, from "Friends' Miscellany," Vol. V., No. 5.....	69
"A Defense Against Aspersions," by Warner Mifflin, 1796 .	77
Letter to Warner Mifflin, by Lomerie	102
Extracts from the Diary of Elizabeth Drinker	103
Two Letters to Henry Drinker, by Warner Mifflin	104
Official Positions Held by Warner Mifflin	110
Manumissions of Slaves, by Daniel and Warner Mifflin, 1774-1777	111
Extracts from Cecil Monthly Meeting Relating to Joseph Warner	129
Marriage Certificate of Joseph and Ann Coale Warner	130
Marriage Certificate of Daniel Mifflin and Mary Warner, 1744	132
Marriage Certificate of Daniel Mifflin and Ann Walker, 1757	134
Marriage Certificate of Daniel Neall and Sarah Mifflin, 1810	136

Extracts Relating to Warner Mifflin, from Minutes of Duck Creek, Little Creek, and Murtherkill Monthly Meetings	138
Extracts from Certificate Book, Murtherkill Meeting	157
From Records of Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania and New Jersey: Committee Appointed to Visit Howe and Washington, 1777	158
Report of Committee, 1778	162
From Duck Creek Records: Report of Committee for Reformation, 1778	165
From Records of Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania and New Jersey: Address to Congress on Slavery, Signed by 535 Friends. 1783	167
From Records of Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Western Parts of Maryland and Virginia: Address to Congress on Slavery and the Slave Traffic, 1789	170
From Records of Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania, etc.: Address to Congress on Exemption from Military Duty, 1790	177
"A Serious Expostulation with the Members of the House of Representatives of the United States," by Warner Mifflin, 1793	183
From Records of Yearly Meeting of Friends for Philadelphia: Address to Congress on Slavery, 1797	198
Will of Anne Eyre, 1720	203
Will of Edward Mifflin, 1740	207
Extract from Will of Mary Mifflin, 1772	210
Deed, Daniel and Warner Mifflin, 1790	211
Will of Daniel Mifflin, 1795	218
Will of Warner Mifflin, 1798	223
Extract from Will of Anne Emlen Mifflin, 1811	228
Note on the Mifflin Homesteads	229

ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE MIFFLIN ARMS *Frontispiece*

Engraved from the original seal brought to America by John Mifflin, Sr., in 1679. Seal in the possession of Mrs. William Mifflin, of Philadelphia. Plate in the possession of Mrs. James Mifflin, of Philadelphia.

OPP. PAGE

MAP OF PHILADELPHIA AND PARTS ADJACENT 9

With a perspective view of the State-House, by N. Scull and G. Heap, 1750. Photographed from the map in the possession of Mr. Graham Calvert, of Philadelphia.

TITLE PAGE OF WARNER MIFFLIN'S "DEFENSE AGAINST ASPERSIONS" 77

Printed in Philadelphia, 1796. From the original in the possession of Mr. Frank L. Neall, of Philadelphia.

WARNER MIFFLIN'S DEED OF MANUMISSION, 1775 . 112

Photographed from the original, in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Johns Neall Gay, of Staten Island, N. Y.

Life and Ancestry of Warner Miffin.

Mifflin Genealogy

I. JOHN MIFFLIN, born 1638, Warminster, Wiltshire, England; came to America 1676-79, and settled among the Swedes on the Delaware; located at "Fountain Green," 8 mo. 13, 1680, the name given by him to the original plantation on the Schuylkill River, now included in Fairmount Park, which consisted of two hundred and seventy acres of land. The title was confirmed by patent from William Penn, dated 5 mo. 18, 1684, having originally been granted by the Court at Upland, then held at Kingsess, 8 mo. 13, 1680, upon the Duke of York's rite.¹

His first wife (name not known) died shortly after coming to America, but she was the mother of John, II. His second wife was Eleanor, whom he married between 1684 and 1693. He died Philadelphia, 7 mo. 4, 1716.

II. JOHN, born Wiltshire, England, 1661-63; married Philadelphia, 12 mo. 6, 1683, Eliza-

¹ From "Memoranda Relating to the Mifflin Family," by J. H. Merrill, p. 29.

MIFFLIN
GENEALOGY

beth Hardy, of Derbyshire, England, who came to America, 1682, and settled in Darby, Pa. She was born about 1663, and died Philadelphia, 6 mo. 21, 1736.

John Mifflin died Philadelphia, 4 mo. 4, 1714.

CHILDREN OF JOHN AND ELIZABETH (HARDY)

MIFFLIN.

III. 1. EDWARD, born "Fountain Green" (now part of Fairmount Park), Philadelphia, 1685; moved to Accomac County, Va.; married Mary Eyre, daughter of Daniel and Ann (Neech) Eyre, of Northampton County, Va.; died Accomac County, Va., 1743. Will dated 10 mo. 7, 1740; probated 5 mo. 31, 1743; recorded Accomac County, Va., Records, Vol. 1737-1743, p. 470.

Mary Mifflin died 1775. Will dated 6 mo. 18, 1772; probated 3 mo. 25, 1775; recorded Accomac County, Va., Records, Vol. 1772-77, p. 312. For proof of marriage, see Deed to Thomas Savage, Jr., Vol. 17, p. 63, Northampton County, Va., Records, dated 11 mo. 11, 1726. She was the widow of Southey Littleton, of Hungars, when she married Edward Mifflin. Edward and Mary Mifflin lived at their plantation, called "Pharsalia," situated on the

MIFFLIN
GENEALOGY

north side of the mouth of Swansgutt Creek, in the northern part of Accomac County, just below the Maryland line, on the ocean side of the peninsula.

Daniel Eyre was the youngest of the three sons (John, Thomas and Daniel) of Thomas and Susanna (Baker) Eyre. Thomas Eyre was a Quaker. He lived on the ocean side of the eastern shore of Virginia, in Northampton County, at his plantation, called "Golden Quarter." He died, 1657. Will dated 11 mo. 18, 1657; probated 12 mo. 12, 1657; recorded Vol. 7, p. 72, Northampton County, Va., Records. Susanna (Baker) Eyre died circa 1683. She married (2d) Captain Francis Potts, and (3d) Lieutenant-Colonel William Kendall.

Tradition says Thomas Eyre (who was in Northampton County, Va., before 11 mo., 1643), was sent down by William Penn, commissioned to aid in establishing Quaker Meeting Houses on the peninsula. He was a man of some wealth, and bequeathed lands to his sons, John, Thomas and Daniel.

Susanna (Baker) Eyre was the sister of Daniel Baker. In his will he gives property to William Kendall, Jr., and Mary

MIFFLIN
GENEALOGY

Kendall, "the son and daughter of Lieut.-Col. William Kendall, and my sister Susanna his wife." Vol. 7-8, p. 12, Northampton County, Va., Records. See also Bill of Sale of Mare by Daniel Baker to his "brother William Kendall, for the joint benefit of John, Thomas and Daniel Eyre." Vol. 1657-1666, p. 81, dated 1 mo. 28, 1662. For proof that Susanna was the mother of John, Thomas and Daniel Eyre, see release from Thomas Eyre to Lieut.-Col. William Kendall, 10 mo. 28, 1678. See, also, patent to "Eyre Hall," dated 3 mo. 30, 1662, granted to John, Thomas and Daniel Eyre by Governor Sir William Berkeley, and divided 5 mo. 28, 1688, Vol II., Deeds and Wills, etc., p. 172, Northampton County, Va., Records. The patent was made out in the name of Lieut.-Col. William Kendall, their stepfather, who conveyed it to them, and stated in Deed of Conveyance that the land was theirs in right of their father, Thomas Eyre, but that he had caused patent to be made for conveyance and better management of the property. John Eyre, the eldest son, having heired the old home place, "Golden Quarter," sold his interest in the patented lands to his brothers, for a nominal sum.

2. GEORGE, born "Fountain Green," 1688; married Philadelphia, 11 mo. 29, 1713, Esther Cordery, daughter of Hugh and Deborah Cordery. He lived in Philadelphia, was admitted freeman of the city, April or May, 1717; merchant, 1736; member of Common Council, 1730; member of Governor's Council, 1730; owner, in 1731, of interest in Colebrookdale Furnace, erected 1720, and said to be the oldest in Pennsylvania. By his father's will he received a house and lot on south side of High Street. He died Philadelphia, 4 mo. 10, 1758.
3. JOHN, born "Fountain Green," 1690; married Elizabeth; lived in Philadelphia and Kent County, Del.; admitted freeman of Philadelphia, April or May, 1717; merchant, 1717; by his father's will he received a house and lot on High Street, adjoining that of his brother George; purchased, in 1716, house and lot on south side of Chestnut Street; died Kent County, Del., prior to 1733.
4. ELIZABETH, born "Fountain Green," 1692; married, prior to 1714, Benjamin Oram; died prior to 1733.
5. PATIENCE, born "Fountain Green," 1694; and died there 9 mo. 23, 1717, unmarried.

Life and Ancestry of

6. JANE, born "Fountain Green," 1696; married, Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 6 mo. 30, 1717, John Waller.
7. SAMUEL, born "Fountain Green," 1698; married Elizabeth; died Philadelphia, 8 mo. 1, 1724.
8. JONATHAN, born "Fountain Green," 1699; and died there 3 mo. 15, 1700.
9. JONATHAN, "the Historian," born "Fountain Green," 4 mo. 12, 1704; married (1) Philadelphia, 3 mo. 30, 1723, Sarah Robinson; married (2), between 8 mo. 28 and 9 mo. 28, 1752, Rebecca Evans; married (3), 11 mo. 9, 1758, Sarah Powell; died Philadelphia, 10 mo. 15, 1781. Jonathan, the Historian, lived on a plantation near the Germantown Road, described in Varlies' map of 1802. Sarah Robinson was born Philadelphia, 1706; died Philadelphia 5 mo. 29, 1745. She was the daughter of Richard and Sarah (Jefferys) Robinson. He was an Englishman, who had been captured by pirates and held in slavery in Morocco, and was redeemed by the Quakers. Rebecca Evans died Philadelphia 10 mo. 13, 1753. Sarah Powell was born Philadelphia, 1711, and died Philadelphia, 1 mo. 21, 1792. She was Sarah Armitt and the widow of Wil-

MIFFLIN
GENEALOGY

liam Powell, of the Powelton Farm, who died 1735.

CHILDREN OF EDWARD AND MARY (EYRE)

MIFFLIN.

IV. 1. JOHN, born —; died —.

2. DANIEL, born Accomac County, Va., 1722; married (1), 9 mo. 15, 1744, Mary Warner, daughter of Joseph and Ann (Coale) Warner, of Kent County, Md., who was born 3 mo. 7, 1727; married (2), 10 mo. 17, 1757, Ann Walker, daughter of John Walker, of Accomac County, Va.; married (3), about 1788, Mary Pusey, daughter of Joshua and Mary Pusey, of London Grove; died Accomac County, Va., 12 mo. 31, 1795; buried in Family Burying Ground, Accomac. Will dated 12 mo. 22, 1795; probated 4 mo. 27, 1796.

Joseph Warner married Ann Coale 11 mo. 6, 1725; died 11 mo. 10, 1730.

“Mary (Pusey) Mifflin, born 6 mo. 8, 1742, was the daughter of Joshua and Mary Pusey, of London Grove. She became a member of the Society of Friends at the age of seventeen. At the age of nineteen she married Joseph Husband, and moved to Duck Creek. Her first husband died in

Life and Ancestry of

MIFFLIN
GENEALOGY

1786, leaving her with eight children to support, and but little means. She was afterwards married to Daniel Mifflin, and removed to his residence in Accomac County, Va.; after the death of her second husband she moved to Baltimore. In 1820 she returned to Duck Creek, where she died 3 mo. 28, 1823."¹

3. ANN, born —; died before 1743.
4. SAMUEL, born —; died —.
5. SOUTHEY, born —; married Johanna Thomas 6 mo. 13, 1750; died —.

CHILDREN OF DANIEL AND MARY (WARNER)

MIFFLIN.

- V. 1. WARNER, born "Pharsalia," Accomac County, Va., 8 mo. 21, 1745; married (1), Philadelphia, 5 mo. 14, 1767, Elizabeth Johns; married (2), Philadelphia, 10 mo. 9, 1788, Ann Emlen; died 10 mo. 16, 1798, of yellow fever, at "Chestnut Grove," near Camden, Del. Buried in Motherkill Burying Ground, near Camden, Del. Will probated 1 mo. 17, 1799.

Elizabeth Johns was the daughter of Kensey² and Susanna Galloway Johns, of

¹ "Friends' Miscellany," Vol. III., p. 46.

**MIFFLIN
GENEALOGY**

West River, Md. Her father was the son of Kensey¹ Johns and Elizabeth Benson Chew, and Kensey¹ Johns was the son of Richard and Elizabeth Kensey Johns.

Elizabeth Johns Mifflin died 6 mo. 3, 1786.

Ann Emlen was the daughter of George and Ann Emlen, of Philadelphia. She was a "convinced friend," wearing linen caps, and clothes the natural color of the wool. She died 3 mo. 22, 1815. Will dated 1811.

2. EDWARD, born 7 mo. 15, 1747; deceased an infant.
3. ANN, born 10 mo. 2, 1748.
4. SARAH, born 2 mo. 10, 1751.
5. DANIEL, born 4 mo. 7, 1754; married Deborah Howell, 10 mo. 6, 1778; died 12 mo. 31, 1812.

CHILDREN OF DANIEL AND ANN (WALKER)

MIFFLIN.

6. WALKER, born 8 mo. 5, 1758; married Sarah Blundell; died 1 mo. 3, 1790.
7. MARY, born 6 mo. 11, 1760; married Nathaniel Hunn.
8. ANN, born 10 mo. 10, 1762.

Life and Ancestry of

9. ELIZABETH, born 2 mo. 18, 1765.
10. PATIENCE, born 12 mo. 17, 1766; married Jonathan Hunn, Jr., 8 mo. 12, 1789.
11. ELIZABETH, born 10 mo. 5, 1769; married Samuel Howell, 10 mo. 10, 1793.
12. SARAH, born 5 mo. 21, 1772.
13. EYRE, born 6 mo. 26, 1774; married Thomas Berry, of Cecil County, Md., 11 mo. 12, 1800; died 1 mo. 7, 1802.
14. REBECCA, born 4 mo. 21, 1777; married Joseph Galloway Rowland.

CHILDREN OF WARNER AND ELIZABETH (JOHNS)**MIFFLIN.**

- VI. 1. MARY, born 4 mo. 21, 1768; died 2 mo. 23, 1783.
2. ELIZABETH, born 2 mo. 14, 1770; died 2 mo. 29, 1770.
 3. ELIZABETH, born 1 mo. 26, 1771; married Clayton Cowgill, 7 mo. 18, 1792.
 4. SARAH, born 4 mo. 4, 1773; died 7 mo., 1773.
 5. ANN, born 9 mo. 20, 1774; married Warner Raisin, 5 mo. 19, 1795.
 6. WARNER, born 4 mo. 6, 1777; married (1) Sarah Ann Newlin, 3 mo. 8, 1810; married

MIFFLIN
GENEALOGY

(2) Elizabeth Laws, 10 mo. 18, 1825; died 1840.

7. SUSANNA, born 7 mo. 24, 1779.

8. HANNAH, born 10 mo. 30, 1781; died 5 mo. 11, 1785, of the putrid sore throat.

9. SARAH, born 12 mo. 9, 1784; married Daniel Neall, 3 mo. 21, 1810; died 2 mo. 5, 1837.

CHILDREN OF WARNER AND ANN (EMLEN)
MIFFLIN.

10. SAMUEL EMLLEN, born 4 mo. 6, 1790.

11. LEMUEL, born 3 mo. 23, 1792.

12. MARY ANN, born 3 mo., 1795; died 8 mo., 1795.

NEALL.

CHILDREN OF DANIEL AND SARAH (MIFFLIN)
NEALL.

VII. 1. SARAH, born 5 mo. 29, 1813; died 7 mo. 19, 1813.

2. WARNER MIFFLIN, born 5 mo. 2, 1815; died 8 mo. 3, 1815.

3. DANIEL, born Ben Salem, 2 mo. 15, 1817; married Philadelphia, 6 mo. 21, 1839, Cecilia Anderson, daughter of James and

MIFFLIN
GENEALOGY

Cecilia (Wright) Anderson, of Talbot County, Md.; died 1 mo. 6, 1894. Cecilia A. Neall, born 12 mo. 25, 1806; died 2 mo. 2, 1897.

4. ELIZABETH JOHNS, born Ben Salem, 11 mo. 7, 1819; married Philadelphia, 11 mo. 7, 1845, Sydney Howard Gay, of New York, son of Ebenezer and Mary Allyn Otis Gay, of Hingham, Mass. Sydney Howard Gay died 6 mo. 28, 1888.

CHILDREN OF DANIEL AND CECILIA (ANDERSON)

NEALL.

- VIII. 1. ELIZA TOWNSEND, born Philadelphia, 7 mo. 6, 1840; married William Wirt Justice, 6 mo. 11, 1862.
2. ANNA VAUGHAN, born Philadelphia 7 mo. 28, 1842; married Theodore Justice, 5 mo. 11, 1871.
3. FRANK LESLEY, born Philadelphia, 12 mo. 12, 1844; married (1), 11 mo. 24, 1870, Hannah Woodnut Griscom, daughter of Dr. John D. and Margaret Acton Griscom; married (2), 8 mo. 11, 1881, Wilhelmina Walbaum, daughter of Rev. Adolphus and Charlotte Kuper Walbaum, of Dalston, London, England.

CHILDREN OF WILLIAM W. AND ELIZA (NEALL)
JUSTICE.

- IX. 1. CECILIA, born 7 mo. 5, 1864; died 5 mo. 12, 1886.
2. MARY COOK, born 12 mo. 23, 1867; married (1), 6 mo. 11, 1890, Leighton Lee. He was born 10 mo. 5, 1866; died 11 mo. 15, 1898. Married (2), 5 mo. 24, 1904, Joshua Coffin Chase.

CHILDREN OF THEODORE AND ANNA (VAUGHAN NEALL)
JUSTICE.

- IX. 1. HILDA, born 3 mo. 5, 1874.
2. WILLIAM WARNER, born 11 mo. 8, 1878.

CHILDREN OF FRANK L. AND HANNAH (WOODNUT
GRISCOM) NEALL.

- IX. 1. MARGARET ACTON, born 9 mo. 16, 1874.
2. CECILIA HELEN, born 8 mo. 22, 1876.

CHILDREN OF FRANK L. AND WILHELMINA (WALBAUM)
NEALL.

3. CHARLOTTE WALBAUM, born 3 mo. 28, 1883.
4. ADELAIDE WALBAUM, born 8 mo. 23, 1884.
5. JOSEPHINE, born 4 mo. 10, 1887.
6. DANIEL, born 4 mo. 22, 1894.

Life and Ancestry of

CHILDREN OF LEIGHTON AND MARY (JUSTICE)
LEE.

- X. 1. WILLIAM JUSTICE, born 6 mo. 26, 1891.
 2. LEIGHTON, born 9 mo. 12, 1893; died 4 mo. 25, 1894.
 3. BENJAMIN, born 11 mo. 4, 1894.
 4. PHILIP LEIGHTON, born 1 mo. 30, 1899.

CHILDREN OF SYDNEY HOWARD AND ELIZABETH
(NEALL) GAY.

- VIII. 1. WALTER OTIS, born Staten Island, 7 mo. 19, 1848; died 8 mo. 31, 1849.
 2. SARAH MIFFLIN, born 5 mo. 5, 1852; died 3 mo. 13, 1901.
 3. MARTIN, born 5 mo. 15, 1854; married 9 mo. 18, 1895, Julia De Witt Stone, born 7 mo. 4, 1864, daughter of William F. and Martha (Young) Stone.
 4. MARY OTIS, born 12 mo. 20, 1861; married 5 mo. 28, 1889, William Goodenow Willcox, son of William Henry and Annie Goodenow Willcox. William G. Willcox, born 2 mo. 8, 1859, in Reading, Mass.

CHILD OF MARTIN AND JULIA (STONE) GAY.

- IX. 1. MARTHA STONE, born 9 mo. 5, 1896.

CHILDREN OF WILLIAM GOODENOW AND MARY
(OTIS GAY) WILLCOX.

- IX. 1. HENRY, born 5 mo. 3, 1890.
2. SYDNEY GAY, born 7 mo. 28, 1892.
3. DANIEL, born 4 mo. 26, 1896.
4. ELIZABETH NEALL, born 7 mo. 11, 1899.
5. ANNA GOODENOW, born 4 mo. 27, 1903.

EXTRACT FROM
"MEMORANDA, RELATING TO THE
MIFFLIN FAMILY,"

BY JOHN HOUSTON MERRILL.¹

John Mifflin, senior, and John Mifflin, junior, father and son, came to America, from Warminster, Wiltshire, England, at some time prior to 1679. It is probable that they sailed in one of the five ships containing colonists, members of the Society of Friends, who disembarked at what is now Burlington, New Jersey, in 1677 or 1678.² The first authentic record known to exist of the Mifflin family in America is as follows:

Honerble Sir

Wee whose names ar here under subscribed lately come from old England with Intent to inhabitt in this contry, And if yor Honor please to Grant us an order vunder yor hand to setle between Mr. Pitter Alderridge's Plantation & the ffalls of Dellowar River wee shall bee willing to embrace it & to hold it according to the custom of the country being a ffit place for Husbandmen: Wee may have land in Jersie side, but we ar willing to become Tennants to his Highness the Duke of Yourke if yor Honor please to give us the grant and to clear the Indians that now . . . to send for the rest of or famillys use thereof, or or relations which Looke for a Re-

¹ Pp. 5-11. Pub. 4 mo. 24, 1890, for private distribution.

² Smith's "History of New Jersey." Westcott and Scharf's "History of Philadelphia," vol. I., p. 79.

turne from us soe desiring yor answere by this bearer wee shall
waite for it before we settle & shall Rest

Your Humble Servants,

although unknown,

John Akarman, Sen.,

John Budd,

John Akarman, Jun.,

John Mifflin, Sen.,

Robert Hoskins,

John Mifflin, Jun.,

Daniel Brinson,

Robert Lucas,

Thomas Sibly,

John Lucas,

Wm. Clark,

Samuel Clift,

Thomas Revell.

Burlington, June ye 23rd, 1679.¹

The next authentic record appears in the proceedings of the provisional court, established by the authority of Governor Andros, the representative of the Duke of York, at Upland, on the Delaware. On the 13th day of the 8th month, 1680, the Court, then sitting at Kingsess, makes the following order:

Upon the peticon of John Mifflin, senior, The Court doe Grant him to take up 150 acres of Land, wthin ye Courts Limits wch heretofore hath not ben Granted, taken up or Improved by others, hee seating & Improving ye same according to Lawe & Regulacons.

Upon the peticon of John Mifflin, Junior, the Court doe grant him to take up 150 acres of Land, wthin ye Courts Limits, wch heretofore hath not ben Granted or taken up by others. hee seating & Improving ye same according to Lawe & Regulacons.²

¹ From documents relating to the "Colonial History of New York," vol. XII., p. 623; "New Jersey Archives" (First Series), vol. I., p. 289.

² "Records of Upland Court, 1676-1681." Vol. VII., Pennsylvania Historical Society, p. 182.

These grants, found among those made by this Court to Swedes, confirm the family tradition that the father and son first lived for awhile among the Swedes on the Delaware. This places the family as one of the earliest, if not the first, of the English settlers in Pennsylvania. The spot chosen as their future home was probably little less beautiful then than now. It was a tract of three hundred acres of land on the east bank of the Schuylkill, now included in Fairmount Park. Here father and son lived, in a small building by the water-side, tradition says, and began the cultivation of their land. They were thus located upon property which remained in the possession of the family for many succeeding generations, at least two years prior to the arrival of William Penn. As soon as Penn had reached his new possessions, accompanied and followed by numbers of sturdy Friends, who proceeded to lay the foundations of Philadelphia, and to locate on all sides of these settlers who had preceded them, measures were taken to obtain a confirmation of the title to their land. Accordingly, on the 18th day of the 5th month, 1684, Penn confirmed the original grant as follows:

William Penn, by the Providence of God and the King's authority, Proprietary of the Province of Pennsylvania and ye territories thereunto belonging, To all to whom these presents shall come sendeth Greeting:

Whereas, there is a tract of land in ye county of Philadelphia, Beginning at a corner marked Hickory, standing on ye east side of Schuylkill; then North-east & by East by the land

of Dennis Rotchford three hundred and thirty perches to a corner marked White Oak; then South and by East by the land of Swan Swanson and Compa. one hundred and fifty perches to a corner marked Red Oak; then South-west & by West a half Westerly by Vacant land three hundred & ten perches to a corner marked Black Oak, standing on Schuylkill River, to ye first-mentioned Hickory tree, containing two hundred and seventy acres of land, granted by an Ord^r of Court at Kingess, bearing date ye 13th day of ye 8th month, 1680, & resurveyed by a Warrant from myself, bearing date ye 24th day of ye 4th month, 1683 & laid out by the Surveyor Genl ord^r ye 5th day of ye sd month & year unto John Mifflin, Senr & Junior & ye sd John Mifflin, Senr & Junr requesting me to confirm ye same by Patent. Kno ye that I have given, granted & confirmed, &c. &c.

Wm. Penn——LOCUS SIGILLI—

Upon the original patent there are two endorsements of record, showing, first, a conveyance by John Mifflin, senior, in fee simple, to his wife, Eleanor Mifflin, dated September 25th, 1693, and, second, a reconveyance, for the consideration of £115, from John and Eleanor to John Mifflin, junior, dated June 10th, 1698.¹

The location of this grant is determined by the description in the original patent, subsequent conveyances between members of the family, and various records and traditions. It was a tract of three hundred acres, covering that portion of Fairmount Park

¹ Recorded in Patent Book "A," vol. IV., p. 357, Recorder's Office, Philadelphia.

now known as Fountain Green and Rockland. While its exact limits could not be ascertained from the original description, because of the obliteration of the landmarks, without a laborious examination and comparison of numerous chains of title now merged into the Fairmount Park property, a rough survey, based upon the original description, and locating certain boundaries by subsequent conveyances from members of the family, leaves its general location beyond doubt. What is still known as Mifflin's Lane formed the southeastern line. This was originally a clearly-marked road leading from the Ridge Road to the Schuylkill, passing near the southeastern line of the new reservoir, and crossing the main Park drive near the corner of that structure. Little is left but the marks of this ancient lane on old maps to indicate its course in that part towards the Ridge Road. The growth of a city which was only a village when it was first used has obliterated it. But the other portion towards the Schuylkill is marked by two rows of majestic trees with intertwined branches, making what was once a beautiful and shaded approach to the old homestead near the river. Another, and perhaps equally enduring monument, is the name Fountain Green. It is now impossible to say when this name was given to the family property, but it is used so early in deeds and wills as to fairly imply that it dates from the second or third generation. Its appropriateness is striking. At the

end of Mifflin's Lane, and in a semicircle of fine old trees, whose branches must have swept its roof, stood the Mifflin home, while a few feet from its door was a large spring of clear, pure water. The spring remains, walled up, it is true, and architecturally beautified to suit the purposes of a city park, but all that is left of the house is a pile or two of crumbled bricks and a few scattered foundation stones, the rest being probably imbedded in the remarkably natural grotto which surrounds the spring. This house, of which at this day only the vaguest descriptions can be obtained, remained in the possession of a branch of the family until 1806. For years prior to this time it was the country residence of Colonel Jonathan Mifflin, of the fifth generation, one of the wealthiest members of the family, and who must be distinguished from his equally wealthy relative of the same name, known as Jonathan the "Historian," and of the third generation, who owned a house on German-town Road, which was destroyed by the British during the Revolution. About the time mentioned, Colonel Jonathan Mifflin met with severe losses to his merchant vessels trading with China and India, by French spoliations. Fountain Green was sacrificed with most of his other property in payment of his debts, and he moved to Columbia on the Susquehanna, where he died, leaving his claims against an unjust government, and the traditions clustering about Fountain Green, as almost his only legacies to

his children. Could the history of the property pause here, it would perhaps be more desirable. The ideas suggested by such a beautiful country-place, the home of six successive generations of the same family, held by a title antedating that of Penn himself, surrounded by other similar places, and only a few miles from all the gay and fashionable world of a large city, must have been attractive even to this family of Friends. But the reverses of fortune were soon to cause the destruction of the homestead by fire, communicated by sparks from an engine on the new railroad, and, later, Fountain Green, like the adjoining estates of Sedgeley and Rockland, which had previously been carved out of the original property, became a part of Fairmount Park. The southeastern line of the original grant, as has been said, was Mifflin's Lane. The northeastern was about the line of the Ridge Road, from which point the northwestern extended to the Schuylkill at a point near the Rockland Landing, and the southwestern boundary followed the windings of the Schuylkill to the point where Mifflin's Lane ran down to the river, perhaps a couple of hundred yards above the tunnel through Promontory Rock.¹

From a document entitled "Returns of Inhabitants and Lands owned and Improved in portions of Phila-

¹The descent of Fountain Green as traced in the public records will be found stated in detail in the sketch of Colonel Jonathan Mifflin, *infra*.

delphia County, at the order of three Justices of the Peace, (dated 2 mo. 14, 1683, O. S.), to be executed betwixt this and three weeks hence,"¹ it appears that—

John Meefelon, aged 45 years, hath 3 hundred ackers of land & hath Improved 10 aekers.

John Meefelon, the younger, aged 22 years.

This indicates that father and son promptly applied themselves to the work of providing a home. It is likely that they soon built a more commodious house, for the will of John, junior, dated 1713, devises to his wife Elizabeth "all that messuage, tenement, plantation and tract of land where he then lived, with the other buildings and improvements, with all the negroes and other servants and all the stock and creatures remaining on and belonging to the plantation." And an old map of Philadelphia and its vicinity,² published in 1750, and giving the names of many householders, shows a house of some dimensions for that period located at a short distance from the river.

In the meantime the son had married Elizabeth Hardy, from Darby, in Old England. She came the year when William Penn first arrived, "and the ship discharged at the mouth of Darby Creek and wintered there, the people generally settling thereabouts and called the place Darby Town, soon after which John

¹ "Pennsylvania Magazine," vol. VII., p. 106.

² "Westcott & Scharf's "History of Philadelphia," vol. I.

Mifflin, the son, became acquainted with her, she being settled about four or five miles from his habitation, and from that acquaintance a marriage between them was solemnized in a meeting-house of Friends at Chester, or near it.

"John Mifflin, the younger, & Elizabeth Hardy, on the 6th day of the 12th month, 1683-4, at the house of Henry Lewis, near Schuylkill, where a considerable number of Friends met, consummated their marriage two months after their first appearance & fixing up public notice of their intention for one month, according to Law.

"Some time after this marriage the wife of John, the elder, came from England. She died soon after her arrival here, after a short illness. John, the elder, afterwards moved over the Schuylkill to Merion, and married a second wife, who survived him, he dying upwards of 70 years old."¹

No record can be found to show the name of John Mifflin, senior's, first wife, nor the maiden name of his second. As already mentioned, John Mifflin, senior, conveys to Eleanor, his wife, in 1693, the original plantation, and Eleanor joins with John in a conveyance to their son in 1698, and since the will of John Mifflin, senior, dated in 1715, and proved in 1716, mentions his wife Eleanor, there is little time

¹ See account of the Mifflin family, by Jonathan Mifflin, the youngest son of John Mifflin, Junior, and surnamed the "Historian" by his descendants.

left for another marriage. Nevertheless, the accuracy of the statements, so far as they could be verified, in "An Account of the Mifflin Family, written by Jonathan Mifflin, senior, on the 15th of September, 1770," must leave this matter in some doubt, unless we presume that Eleanor was the name of the second wife and that their marriage took place between 1684 and 1693, which does not seem improbable.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MIFFLIN FAMILY,

WRITTEN BY JONATHAN MIFFLIN, SENIOR, ON THE
FIFTEENTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1770.¹

John Mifflin, the father, and John Mifflin, the son, moved from Wiltshire, Old England, to America between the years 1676 and 1679, the son being upwards of 16 years of age. They lived some time among the Swedes' settlements on the banks of the Delaware and Schuylkill, until they fixed on a tract of land on the east side of the Schuylkill, on the river, which they took on the Duke of York's Rite, the writing being dated from the Court of Upland, near Marcus Hook or Chester, in the year 1679, called 300 acres, but in the year 168— was remeasured and a patent taken under William Penn and called 270 acres, granted to the father and son jointly, on which they were settled then on a small building near the water side.

Elizabeth Hardy, then about 25, came over from Darby, of Old England, with a shipload of Darbyshire people. The same year William Penn came first, and the ship discharged at the mouth of Darby Creek and wintered there, the people generally settling thereabout, and called the place Darby Town. Soon after

¹ From J. H. Merrill, pp. 35-37, "Memoranda Relating to the Mifflin Family."

which John Mifflin, the son, became acquainted with her, she being settled about four or five miles from his habitation, and from that acquaintance a marriage between them was solemnized in a meeting house of Friends, at Chester, or near it.

John Mifflin, the younger, and Elizabeth Hardy, on the 6th day of the 12th month, 1683 or 4, at the house of Henry Lewis, near Schuylkill, where a considerable number of friends met, consummated their marriage two months after their first appearance and fixing up public notice of their intention for one month, according to law.

Some time after this marriage the wife of John, the elder, came from England. She died soon after her arrival here, after a short illness. Some time afterwards the old man removed over the Schuylkill to Merion and married a second wife, who survived him, he dying upwards of 70 years old.

On the father's removal the son became possessed of the whole tract by purchase, where he resided with his wife and family until his death at the age of 54, in the year 1714, leaving issue Edward, George, John, Elizabeth, Patience, Jane, Samuel and Jonathan, at which time Elizabeth had been married some years and George about one year.

By his will the widow held the plantation and stock during her life, to bring up the younger children, the youngest being but ten years old, and after her death the plantation to be divided among his children,

besides which he gave them portions: Edward a lot of land in the city of Philadelphia, on the south side of High Street (now in the tenure of John Dunlap and remains in the possession of the family); and next a lot adjoining to George, and next lot to that to John (which George purchasing built on them both, one of which buildings still remains in his name), with personal legacies to the others.

Edward married and settled in Virginia, where he died leaving issue John, Daniel, Southe, Samuel, and a granddaughter by his only daughter who died before him. Edward died about the year 1743, aged near 60. George died about the age of 70, in the year 1758, leaving issue John Mifflin and Sarah Mifflin, and a grandson Charles by his son George, who died before his father. John Mifflin, the third son, died early in life, leaving issue two sons, Benjamin and John (now living). Elizabeth died early, leaving four sons. Patience died soon after her father, in her youth, Jane soon after, in child-bed, leaving a daughter. Samuel died single, about the 26th year of his age. Jonathan married young, in the year 1723, leaving issue son Samuel (now living); a daughter Elizabeth, who died in the year 1759, leaving a son and three daughters; Sarah, who died in the year 1769, or 1770, leaving four sons and two daughters, and Patience, at this time living and married.

The writer of the above, being still living, hath added to the above, which he wrote about the year

1770, that he learned something by information about the family and other parts otherwise, that as far as it goes is undoubtedly fact: and this day on reading it just takes occasion to mention that Patience is now also deceased upwards of two years, having buried her husband, Isaac Paschal, about six months and left two daughters, now living, Ninth month 15, 1776.

(Signed) JONA^T MIFFLIN.

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON WARNER MIFFLIN.

BY SARAH MIFFLIN GAY.

Warner Mifflin, reformer and prominent member of the Society of Friends, was the eldest son of Daniel and Mary Warner Mifflin. He was born in Accomac County, Va., in 1745, and died at Chestnut Grove, 16th October, 1798. He was the great-great-grandson of John Mifflin, of Warminster, Wiltshire, England, who with his son John came to America prior to 1679. They are first heard of at Burlington, N. J., but subsequently, in 1680, they took up three hundred acres of land on the east bank of the Schuylkill on the Duke of York's patent. This grant was confirmed by William Penn in 1684. The tract was called Fountain Green, and is now part of Fairmount Park.

Warner Mifflin was early interested in the slaves, and in a pamphlet entitled "The Defence of Warner Mifflin Against Aspersions cast on him on Account of his endeavours to Promote Righteousness, Mercy and Peace Among Mankind," he gives an interesting account of his conversion to anti-slavery views through a conversation with one of his father's slaves. He "determined never to be a slave-owner." Yet he

became possessed of slaves through his wife Elizabeth Johns, and of others, from among his father's, who followed him into Delaware. Convinced, however, that he would "be excluded from happiness if he continued in this breach of the Divine Law" he freed all his slaves in 1774 and 1775, and his father followed his example. Thomas Clarkson, the leader and historian of the anti-slavery movement in England, said of Warner Mifflin that "he was the first man in America to unconditionally emancipate his slaves." From this time until his death his efforts to bring about emancipation were untiring. Through his labors most of the members of his Society liberated their slaves. He traveled from State to State preaching his anti-slavery doctrines among his people, and in the course of his life visited all the Yearly Meetings on the continent. In 1782 he appeared before the legislature of Virginia, and was instrumental in having a law enacted that admitted of emancipation. In 1783 he presented a memorial to Congress respecting the African slave-trade, and he subsequently visited, in the furtherance of his work, the legislatures of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware. In 1791 he presented his noted "Memorial to the President, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States" on the subject of slavery, and published a short time afterward his "Serious Expostulation with the members of the

House of Representatives of the United States," in relation to the principles of liberty, and the inconsistency and cruelty of the slave-trade and slavery.

As a member of the Society of Friends, Warner Mifflin was opposed to war. He was chosen by his people to present their views to Generals Howe and Washington. He traversed the British lines without a passport, and subsequently made his way to General Washington, undaunted by the hatred of the Americans for the Quakers and in danger of being treated as a spy.

He also bore testimony in favor of temperance, and consistently with his peace principles refused to handle the continental currency issued in aid of the Revolution.

He died of yellow fever, caught while ministering to the victims of the epidemic in Philadelphia.

ANECDOTE OF WARNER MIFFLIN,

FROM "THE LETTERS OF AN AMERICAN FARMER."¹

BY HECTOR ST. JOHN DE CRÈVECŒUR.

The great military discipline of the British army, and the victory of the battle of the Brandywine, finally opened the doors of Philadelphia to General Howe. His march from the head of the Elk, as well as his sojourn in this capital, were marked by fires, depredations, and the ruin of a large number of families; those who were farther removed from the scene of the war opening their houses to those unfortunates who had been recently despoiled.

During these occurrences the Society of Friends of the three counties of Kent, Newcastle and Sussex (Delaware), held, according to custom, its Poor Meeting, whose object is to collect the contributions for charity of all its members, in order to maintain in the treasury the funds necessary to help the poor and the unfortunate in their extremity. Impressed with the disasters of a war that they had never seen near their homes, these good people doubled their charitable subscriptions; but even this abundant help was soon exhausted, so great was the number of unfortunates. To the most needy they sent all that they had, and

¹ Vol. I., Paris, 1787, pp. 197 to 222. Penna. Hist. Soc. Translated by Hilda Justice.

shed tears over the fate of those whom they could not help.

Several of the Elders got into their coaches, and for whole weeks together traveled incessantly from plantation to plantation gathering in all the bacon, flour and other provisions, which the charity of the Colonists procured for them. You would be astonished at the sums of money and the quantity of goods and useful things which were thus gathered in from fields already half-destroyed by English rapacity.

While they were thus occupied, the spirit moved them (to use their phrase) to send a deputation from their body to the English General, to try to obtain from him greater attention to the discipline of his army, and an armistice to last at least during the winter.

Warner Mifflin was chosen. The dangers and difficulties of the undertaking, far from intimidating him, made him accept with joy the commission offered him—for whoever should decline to perform a good deed, become from that moment a duty, would incur the reproach of cowardice before men, and of a crime in the eyes of the Supreme Being.

You may perhaps imagine that one of the American Generals gave him some credentials. No, my friend, in the eyes of the Quakers these precautions would show timidity in the undertaking of good works, and would cause them to endorse in a measure the great crime of war.

Sure of the esteem of the body by whom he was chosen, animated by the hope of the good he should do his country if successful, Warner Mifflin started. He carried with him only the letters which announced to his parents in Philadelphia the resolutions adopted by the Quaker Meetings of the three counties of Kent, Newcastle and Sussex, and the choice made by this assembly of Warner Mifflin.

In the American army there was a General of the same name of Mifflin (the Major-General Thomas Mifflin). The latter, before the war, had been a member of the Society; but after using his eloquence to arouse his fellow-citizens, he was obliged to abate the force of his religious sentiments, to take arms and defend his country.

Having arrived at the first English outposts, Warner Mifflin was seized and led before the officer in command.

"Who are you, and where are you going?" he was asked.

"My name is Warner Mifflin, and I am going to Philadelphia."

"Mifflin, Mifflin," said the officer, "it seems to me there is a certain Thomas Mifflin, who calls himself General, in the Rebel army. Is he perhaps related to you?"

"Yes, my friend, he is my first cousin. Does that seem to thee a crime?"

"How do you dare to call me your friend, you

notorious rebel? Soldiers, take this hypocrite to the guard-house, till we can take him to the Sheriff, to be hung when his turn comes. There you will see a great many rebels who tried, under the guise of humility and Quaker simplicity, to slip through the British lines and act as spies."

"In spite of all thee says, I am not a spy; perhaps I may be allowed to prove it."

"To prove it!" said the Captain, "oh, don't expect that! The trial of such a rebel as you is soon over—a rope, a nail, or a branch, and two good soldiers to hoist it—that is all we need."

"Why, my friend, does thee insult a man whom thee does not know? Why accuse him of a crime of which thee is not sure? Why threaten him with a punishment he does not deserve? Am I not thy brother?"

"I your brother? God preserve me from such an alliance. I am your enemy, that is what I am, and, as I live, you shall know it, you and yours. To-day, since the King has taken you from under the cloak of his protection, and has declared you rebels, you deserve to be hung, you and your women and children. Yes, you deserve it on the proclamation alone of George III."

"Thy King must be very cruel," said Warner Mifflin, "to condemn to death so many people who have never done him any harm."

"Our King is the most just and the most magnani-

mous of all the kings of the earth; he wants to clear the country of the seed of republicanism, of these descendants of old Oliver (Cromwell), to repeople it with men who will always be faithful to him."

"Of what men does thee speak?" asked Warner.

"Of the brave Scotch," replied the officer.

"How is it that your country has become so attached to the House of Brunswick? Have you entirely forgotten the Stuarts?"

"They forgot themselves, and never deserved the blood our ancestors shed for them." (It was an Englishman who was speaking.)

"Tell me, noble Scot, would thy nation like to come and strangle us under the flags of thy King, with the intention of occupying the houses, tilling the fields, mowing the meadows, that we have bought so dearly at the price of our work and our sweat?"

"And why not, monsieur the American? You are the Canaanites, accursed of God; and we are the chosen people."

"Oh! my dear Scot, the Jews did many things it is not wise to copy."

"Soldiers, take this man to the guard-house—he talks too much—and put hand-cuffs on him. This will no doubt be the first pair of cuffs this Quaker gentleman has ever had on."

After having been the butt of the jokes and the insolence of all the soldiers, he was taken the following day to the Provost-Marshal; but as, on searching

him, two letters were found, addressed to persons suspected to be Whigs (Republicans), he was thrown into a dark cell, and the letters were sent to the Adjutant.

Here they lay for a long time, forgotten; for the most senseless pleasures, high living, and the most licentious debauches occupied the officers' leisure to such an extent that they had scarcely time to attend to current affairs. Seventeen days later, by the merest chance, the letters fell into the hands of Sir William Howe. He thought that he saw something very mysterious in their contents. This idea smothering his indolence for the moment, he ordered the prisoner in whose pockets the letters were found to be brought before him. He was taken to the General's room, wearing his hat on his head. Sir William Howe, a little surprised by this unusual custom, asked him if his name was Warner Mifflin.

"Yes," he said, "friend William Howe, that is my name."

"Where do you come from?"

"From the Provost-Marshal."

"Where had you come from when you were taken to him?"

"From Kent County."

"Why have you come here?"

"To speak with thee."

At this point Colonel Balfour, first aide de camp, observing that this man had the audacity to keep his

hat on before his superior, filled with military prejudices, he hastily approached the Quaker, and taking his hat off, said angrily: "Understand, you churl, that no one speaks to the Commander-in-Chief of the British army, with his hat on, and much less a rebel and a prisoner like you."

"How does thee expect me to know thy customs," said Warner Mifflin, "when I have never seen an English General, and have all my life kept my hat on my head before my neighbors and my friends; the hat which so offends thee is nevertheless but a part of my clothing. Shall I also take off my coat?"

"Colonel Balfour, suspend your rebuke," said the General. "Mr. Mifflin, do the men of your sect always keep their hats on their heads through conscientious scruples?"

"No, friend Howe; it is the custom of our Society, which, looking upon all men as brothers, teaches us that we owe them only good-will and the sincerity of our hearts, expressed through a handshake, with no outward salutations."

"You astonish me very much, Mr. Mifflin. I thought you were so attached to this custom that I believed it to be founded on motives of conscience."

"It is not, friend William; but tell me, was thee offended that I spoke to thee with my hat on? That was not my intention. I presented myself before thee as we present ourselves before our brothers, as we present ourselves even before God, when we go

to Meeting to implore His mercy and to await the influence of His Spirit. Can the treatment which I have received from thy aide add anything to thy honor or to thy power?"

"My aide meant well, Mr. Mifflin; but whether you wear your hat or not makes no difference to me; I exact from you nothing but clear and precise answers to my questions."

Warner Mifflin, quietly putting on his hat again, said to Howe that he might depend on the truth of what he should tell him; that the General's questions would give him the more pleasure, because they would give him an opportunity to explain the reasons which forced him to come to Philadelphia to speak with him.

"To speak with me? Why, who are you? Who sent you?"

"I am a farmer of Kent County. I am sent by the Yearly Meeting of the three counties of Kent, Newcastle and Sussex."

"What, a farmer sent by the Quaker Meetings? The farming gentlemen of these counties and their Meetings choose a very bad time, for I find myself obliged to be their enemy. What do these Meetings want of me? What do you yourself want of me?"

"As thee is English it may be that thee knows that the Society of Friends never has anything to do with war, nor with any contentions, public or private. Quarrels are forbidden us by the Bible, which enjoins

us to look upon all men as brothers; but in recommending peace and brotherly love, the Bible commands us also to do all in our power to hinder and oppose this evil. Our brethren of the three counties, united in our Poor Meeting (meetings held every month to care for the needs of their poor, and help the unfortunate), believed that it might be possible to obtain an interview between thee and friend George Washington; that this interview might result in arranging for the means of obtaining an armistice, at least during the winter; that this armistice might lead to a friendly understanding, and the restoration of peace. Persuaded that this idea is salutary and holy, through obedience to the inspiration of the Spirit, whence come all good thoughts, as well as the good we do, they appointed me to communicate this to thee. What does thee think of it, friend Howe?"

"I approve of the idea of your Quakers; it seems a noble one, and may prove useful; whether it succeeds or not, it will gain honor for you at my hands, and will serve to confirm the good opinion I have always held of your sect. I like to see that those who do not take part in war try to soften its horrors, and busy themselves with the means of re-establishing peace. But things are not equal between General Washington and me; in four days he can receive his orders from Congress, while it takes several months for me to receive those of the King. If, however, we might see each other, I should gladly agree to a short

armistice that might give our troops time to relax and to enjoy a little rest. I see by the contents of your letters that you have hidden nothing from me, and that they were written merely to inform your friends of the resolution passed by your Meeting and of your generous undertaking; stay to dine with me; after the meal I will see that the necessary papers are drawn up for your journey."

"I will dine with thee since thee wishes it; but I cannot receive thy passports."

"And why not, Mr. Mifflin?"

"Because we should become guilty of the great crimes occasioned by war, in providing ourselves with passports and military privileges. I shall be able to pass out of thy lines as I entered them; the good work I am doing will take me everywhere, I feel sure, and will give me the courage I shall need to endure the accidents that may befall me."

"What strange principles! What! you prefer to expose yourself to the insults of the soldiers, to prison, to scorn, rather than take papers to protect you? These principles are not well considered, Mr. Mifflin; they are contrary to nature and the inner feelings, which dictate self-preservation."

"I am sorry thee does not approve them, friend Howe; they are nevertheless the foundation on which our Society rests; we sealed them more than once with our blood; we upheld them in times of the most cruel persecutions; if thee does not approve them, at

least do not scorn them; they are founded on the love of peace and concord, and on our horror of war, the worst of evils."

"But if anything serious should happen to you, Mr. Mifflin, what would you do?"

"I should endure its severity, I hope, with calmness and courage."

"Calmness and courage? Where would you find them?"

"In my conscience, and in the firm conviction that no temporal obstacles should prevent me from doing good."

"And if I should station soldiers at the door of one of your Meetings, with orders not to allow you to enter on pain of death, what would you do?"

"If I believed that the Spirit commanded me to go, my duty would then be not to resist this inspiration; I should go at the risk of my life."

"Then the Quakers believe themselves to be directly inspired?"

"And why not, friend Howe? Thee is so thyself every time thee has good thoughts in thy mind. What absurdity is there in thinking that good thoughts come from heaven, as from the main source of all that is good? What harm is there in believing that every good genius may be capable of receiving a feeble ray of that great light that illumines all men who do not voluntarily close their eyes to it? This, friend Howe, is not a new maxim; I could prove its

truth to thee by the writings of St. Paul, of the Emperor Marcus Antonius, of Epictetus, and of several other great men."

"You seem to me to be a learned scholar, Mr. Mifflin; I am not surprised that your Meetings should have chosen such a man as you."

"I am far from being learned; I possess nothing but the science of common sense, a school education, and the fruits of experience."

"Your principles may be useful in the shade of your orchard, in the midst of quiet and peace; nevertheless, I cannot help thinking them useless, and even dangerous, in a society that can only maintain itself by perpetual effort, that is, by its fleets and its armies."

"I have not come here to dispute, or to change thy opinions, friend William Howe; as to my opinion, it is the most sacred, the most indelible, of all those which make up my moral character; since thee has accepted the proposition I made to thee, I will withdraw, to continue my journey."

"No, Mr. Mifflin, you must dine with me, and you shall be respected at my table as you deserve to be. I am told you have emancipated all your slaves—is that true?"

"I did nothing but what I ought to do."

"But this emancipation must have cost you a great deal."

"There still remains a sufficient fortune for me, and I am satisfied."

"I have also been told that you gave the wool of five hundred sheep to those who lost theirs by the English troops."

"Since all men are brothers, why should not those who are in more comfortable circumstances share their wealth with those whom the war has ruined? There is more true joy than one thinks in doing good."

"By what chance did you save your own?"

"By means of an island that I own; I hid them in the woods of this island, at the time when thy brother (Admiral Howe) came up the river with his fleet."

"I have infinite respect for you, Mr. Mifflin, and these two generous actions would make me your friend for all my life, if we were at peace and neighbors. Would to God that all Americans were like you."

"Friend William, this might perhaps be unfortunate for Great Britain."

"And why, pray, Mr. Mifflin?"

"She might then carry out too easily all the designs she has upon North America; for thee knows we may not oppose ourselves to the powers of this world; but though we might submit to the Governors of the earth, we do not wish any the less fervently that the laws be wise, just and mild."

"But do you not know, Mr. Mifflin, that Great Britain desires only your own good?"

"I doubt that, because she tries to accomplish here that which the English nation has never allowed her kings."

"You are a Whig, then, Mr. Mifflin?"

"Friend Howe, thee is master and may call me whatever thee pleases. But what can I be, what would thee have me be, since I am born a citizen of Pennsylvania? Does thee accuse me of a crime, if I love my country?"

"No, no, I do not call it a crime; besides, my business is neither to preach nor to convert, but to subjugate."

"Since this is unfortunately thy duty and thy inclination, in the name of humanity put as much mildness as possible into thy conquests; so that thy soldiers, withheld within the bounds of their military duty, may not be authorized to pillage and destroy, as they have done. Mercy will be an honor to thy military exploits, and may perhaps help thee to conquer. If thee is not an American, can thee forget that thee is English? Thee knows what this name means, the partisan of a just and necessary liberty."

"Do you not know that among us military men there exist two distinct characters, under the appearance of the same individual? As an English citizen, I admit that Parliament has carried things too far; as a military man, my honor is engaged; I must carry out the King's orders as well as I can."

"What thee has just told me astonishes me greatly,

friend Howe. How can a man have two characters? How can his spirit divide itself, and force his hands to do that which is repugnant to his heart? "

"It is nevertheless thus, Mr. Mifflin; it is a problem that you, quiet farmers that you are, can never understand; yet I know several members of your Society that do not think as you do."

"That may be; our Society lays down no laws; every member voluntarily united in our system of belief thinks and judges of the things of this world according to his light; our brethren are none the less partisans of liberty."

"I think just as you do, Mr. Mifflin; I should be sorry to see the Americans made slaves. I am delighted that chance has brought your two letters into my hands, since this circumstance has shortened your imprisonment, and has procured me the pleasure of making the acquaintance of a man as worthy of respect as you. This is the opinion even of your enemies."

"I did not think I had any."

"It is the fate of all men," said the General; "why should you wish to be happier? Good-bye, Mr. Mifflin. I have given orders for you to be allowed to pass. I wish you a pleasant journey."

"Farewell, William Howe. Thee may depend upon it I shall do my best."

He left Philadelphia the same day, respected by the guards, who were surprised at the care they were

obliged to take of a man who wore a flat-brimmed hat, a gray suit without buttons, who wore no powder in his hair, and whose shoes were tied with laces.

After leaving the English lines, he went to seek General Washington at his camp at Valley Forge; he told him the object of his visit, and the story of his trip to Philadelphia; he was received with open arms by his illustrious compatriot; he was fêted and made much of by all who were around him; everyone hastened to do justice to such a noble idea, to such a humane project. Although Congress did not vote this advantageous truce, Warner Mifflin and the Meetings that had sent him felt none the less complimented; he returned home, having the esteem of both Generals, happy to have done all which depended upon him to do, to carry through the undertaking which had been entrusted to him.

The night that Warner Mifflin crossed German-town was marked by one of those crimes which is counted for almost nothing in the long list of those occasioned by a civil war. Lieutenant —, of — Regiment, whose soul is filled with the blackest enthusiasm, and who is the most extraordinary royalist I have ever seen, was constantly imagining all those to be worthy of death who were called rebels under the proclamation of the King.

One night, filled with an atrocious zeal, and a strange thirst for blood, and carrying his brutality to the farthest point, he left his tent at midnight; accom-

panied by two soldiers as drunk with wine and cruelty as their leader, he knocked at the door of the first house he came to in Germantown.

"Who is there," called the master of the house.

"A friend," said the Lieutenant.

"I know no friends at this time of night, and in the midst of two armies," replied the man.

"Open the door, I have something to tell you."

He came down in his night-shirt, and had barely reached the last step when they seized him, and after reproaching him for being an American and a rebel, they hung him without any noise to the door, where he was found the next day by the neighbors. You will not doubt the truth of this story, when I tell you that I had it from the lips of this very officer, who is to-day a captain in the second order.

"I came back and went to bed," he said, "and slept quietly until morning. This," he added, "is but a scratch in comparison with what our General Gray did when he gave the order to pierce with bayonets in one night four hundred rebels who were lying asleep."

To scatter the triple impression which the recital of such an atrocity must make, I wish to tell you some other characteristics of the good Mifflin, and of another Quaker who deserves my admiration quite as much.

Warner Mifflin married, in 1765, Phebe,¹ a rich

¹ Warner Mifflin's first wife was Elizabeth Johns, whom he married in 1767. The reference is no doubt to her.

and beautiful girl. She had at least 327,000 pounds (French). The furniture, bureaus and closets which she brought were made, according to the custom of the country, of mahogany, and were of great beauty; her clothes, though simple, were rich and in large quantities; for she did not belong to the sect of Friends (Quakers).

The difference in worship brings none, as you know, to disturb the peace and union of families. A more intimate knowledge, and the example of her husband, decided her in a short time to join the Society of which he was a member, that of the Friends. She assured me that he never spoke to her on the subject, and no sooner was she admitted to the Society than she conformed to its principles and adopted its belief. She carried her scruples so far as even to have all the carving and ornaments on her furniture taken off, as being contrary to the simplicity of Friends. Everything which could be considered useless or superfluous was sold. She even gave up wearing buckles on her shoes, and fastened them instead, according to the custom, with laces.

Some time before, several Friends had purposed emancipating their negroes. This good doctrine had already been promulgated and recommended in several Meetings, for more than forty years. A member of this Society, living in the town of Flushing (on the island of Nassau, or Long Island), famous for his knowledge of medicine, as well as for his Christian

virtues, had freed all his slaves, and in his will bequeathed them a decent means of support. Antoine Bénézet, son of a Frenchman, published at length an excellent book on this subject. This work has accomplished all its author could have wished for it; but not satisfied with this mere beginning of a good work, he abandoned all his business to his wife, left his home and went from Meeting to Meeting, preaching the freedom of the negro. This man, simple and gentle, without having the energy of St. Paul, the fire of St. Augustine, or the knowledge of St. Thomas, was listened to with the closest attention, and gained followers everywhere. He had to fight the strongest of human passions—self-interest.

“Not having the authority of any public body, or the resources of eloquence in your favor,” I asked him one day, “how can you have succeeded?”

“By the help of the inspiration of the Spirit of the universe, of the kind disposition of those to whom I spoke, and of my own good will,” he answered.

He has had the satisfaction of living long enough to see the Society refuse to admit to communion (a meeting for meditation) those who had not entirely banished slavery from their homes. I have gathered together anecdotes on this subject that would make you shed tears.

Warner Mifflin had received from his father thirty-seven negroes, young as well as old. When the day arrived on which he was to free them, he called them

into his room, one after the other. This is the conversation he had with one of them:

“ Well, friend James, how old is thee? ”

“ Master, I am twenty-nine and a half years old.”

“ What, thee is twenty-nine and a half years old? Thee ought to have been free, as our white brothers are, at twenty-one. Listen: religion and humanity enjoin me to give thee to-day thy liberty; and justice commands me to pay thee for eight and a half years’ labor, at two hundred and seventy pounds per year, including thy food and clothing, to the amount of 2,295 pounds, the sum I owe thee. But as thee is young and strong, and as thee must work to support thyself, it is my intention to give thee a bond for this amount, drawing 7 per cent. interest. This is the beginning of thy fortune. James, thee is now as free as I am; thee has no other master than God and the law. Go into the next room to my wife Phebe, thy former mistress, and my nephew, William Roberts; they are engaged in writing thy manumission; when I have sealed it and signed it before witnesses, thee must go to have it recorded in the books of the Society at Dover (capital of Kent County), and in the county registers. God bless thee, James; be good and industrious. In all thy troubles and sorrows thee will find a friend in thy old master, Warner Mifflin.”

James, astonished by a scene so novel, so touching, and so unexpected, burst into tears, as though he had been accused of some great wrong. The sudden effect

of astonishment, gratitude, and several other sentiments, swelled his heart, and almost produced convulsions. He wept bitterly, and could scarcely say: "Ah, master, what shall I do with my liberty? I was born under your roof, I have always had everything I needed; we worked together in the fields, and I can say I worked as much for myself as for you, as I was fed from the same meats, and clothed in the same garments; we never went to church on foot; we had our Saturdays to ourselves; we wished for nothing. When we were sick our good and gentle mistress came to our bedside, saying always something to comfort us: 'Well, James, well, my boy, what is the matter? Do not be discouraged, the doctor will soon be here. I shall take care of thee. Suffer patiently, that is the first remedy,' and so on. When I am free, where shall I go? What shall I do? And when I am sick?"

"Thee will do as the whites, go and hire thyself to those who pay thee the highest wages. In a few years thee can buy thyself some land; thee will marry a girl who is good and industrious like thyself; thee will bring up thy children as I have brought thee up, in the fear of God and the love of work. After living in quiet and freedom, thee will die in peace; thee *must* receive thy manumission, James. I should have given it to thee long ago. Would to God, the Father of all men, that the whites had never thought of trading in thy African brethren; would that he might inspire all Americans with the desire to follow our example!

We, who look upon liberty as the first of all blessings, why should we refuse it to those who live with us?"

"Ah, master, how good you are! That is why I can never leave you. I have never been a slave. You have always spoken to me as you speak to white men. I have never wanted for anything, either in sickness or in health. I have never worked more than your neighbors, who worked for themselves. I have been richer than some white men, to whom I have loaned money. My good and dear mistress—who never commands us, but who makes us do everything she wants by saying: 'James, I should like you to do such and such a thing'—how can I leave her? Pay me what you like each year, call me freeman or slave, it matters little to me, as I can only be happy with you. I shall never leave you."

"Well, James, I consent to do what thee wishes. When thy manumission has undergone the necessary forms, I will hire thee by the year. But take at least a week's holiday; this is a great epoch in thy life; celebrate it with joy, rest, and whatever else thee pleases."

"No, master, we are in the midst of the sowing; I will take my holiday some other time. Only let to-day be a holiday in the black family. Since you wish it, I accept my liberty, and my first action as a free man will be to take your hand, master, and grasp it in mine, while I place it on my heart, where James's devotion and gratitude will only cease when it ceases

to beat. The second will be to assure you that there is no laborer in Kent County who will be more diligent than he who henceforth shall call himself faithful James."

Can man offer a more agreeable incense to the Divinity?

Some time before his marriage this same Warner Mifflin had sold in Lewistown (Kent County) a slave with whom he was much dissatisfied. The bad behavior of this negro obliged his new master to get rid of him to a second buyer, who, being equally dissatisfied, sent him to Jamaica, where the fever soon made him more docile and well-behaved. This negro, remembering the kindness and humanity of his first master, sent him a touching letter, in which he described his misery and repentance. Such was the effect on Warner Mifflin's heart, such was the remorse with which he was filled, that, regretting to have been the cause of the misfortune of this slave, he set sail for this island, from whence, after buying back his former slave, he brought him to Philadelphia and gave him his liberty.

J. HECTOR ST. JOHN was a native of Normandy, of noble birth, and came to the British Colonies at the age of sixteen. Having established himself on a farm near the frontier, he was one of the first victims of the War of Independence, the Indian allies of Great Britain setting fire to and destroying his property. He wrote his letters, during the different epochs of the war, in English. Returning to France, he translated them into French. He married the daughter of an American merchant, and is referred to by J. P. Brissot de Warville (p. 147) as living in Newport, Rhode Island.

EXTRACTS RELATING TO WARNER
MIFFLIN,

FROM "NEW TRAVELS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
PERFORMED IN 1788."

BY J. P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE.¹

LETTER IX., PP. 189-193.

VISIT FROM THE GOOD WARNER MIFFLIN.

Aug. 30th, 1788.

I was sick, and Warner Mifflin came to see me. You know Warner Mifflin; you have read the eulogium made of him by M. de Crèveceur. It is he that first freed all his slaves; it is he who, without a passport, traversed the British army, and spoke to General Howe with so much firmness and dignity; it is he who, fearing not the effects of the general hatred against the Quakers, went, at the risk of being treated as a spy, to present himself to General Washington, to justify to him the conduct of the Quakers; it is he, that in the midst of the furies of war, equally a friend to the French, the English and the Americans, carried generous succours to those among them who were suffering. Well, this angel of peace came to see me. "I am Warner Mifflin," says he; "I have read the

¹ London, J. S. Jordan, 1792. Penna. Hist. Soc.

book wherein thou defendest the cause of the Friends, wherein thou preachest the principles of universal benevolence; I knew that thou wast here, and I have come to see thee; besides, I love thy Nation. I was, I confess, much prejudiced against the French; I even hated them, having been, in this respect, educated in the English principles. But when I came to see them, a secret voice said to me, that I ought to drive from my heart that prejudice; that I ought to know them, and love them. I have then fought for them. I have known them; and it is with pleasure I have found them possess a spirit of mildness and general benevolence, which I had never found among the English."

I cannot report to you all the conversation of this worthy Quaker; it made a deep impression on my heart. What humanity! and what charity! It seems, that to love mankind, and to search to do them good, constitutes his only pleasure, his only existence; his constant occupation is to find the means of making all men but one family; and he does not despair of it. He spoke to me of the Society of Quakers at Nismes (?) and of some friends in America and England, who have been to visit them. He regarded them as instruments designed to propagate the principles of the Society throughout the World. I mentioned to him some obstacles; such as the corruption of our morals and the power of the clergy. "Oh, my friend," said he, "is not the arm of the Almighty

stronger than the arm of man? What were we when the Society took its birth in England? What was America thirteen years ago, when Benezet raised his voice against the slavery of the blacks? Let us always endeavour to do good; fear no obstacles, and the good will be done."

All this was said without the least ostentation. He said what he felt, what he had thought a thousand times; he spoke from the heart, and not from the head. He realized what he had told me of that secret voice, that internal spirit, of which the Quakers speak so much; he was animated by it. Ah! who can see, who can hear a man, so much exalted above human nature, without reflecting on himself, without endeavoring to imitate him, without blushing at his own weakness? What are the finest writings in comparison with a life so pure, a conduct so constantly devoted to the good of humanity? How small I appeared in contemplating him! And shall we calumniate a sect to which a man so venerable belongs? Shall we paint it as the centre of hypocrisy and deceit? We must then suppose that Mifflin counterfeits humanity; that he is in concert with hypocrites, or that he is blind to their true character. To counterfeit humanity, to consent to sacrifice one's interests, to be scoffed and ridiculed, to impart his goods to the poor, to enfranchise his negroes, and all this by hypocrisy, would be a very bad speculation; hypocrisy makes better calculations. But, if you suppose

this man to be true and honest as to himself, can you imagine him to be in concert with knaves? This would be an absurd contradiction. Finally, on hearing this man, full of good sense, and endowed with solid judgment, reasoning with so much force, can you believe that he has been, for all his life, the dupe of a band of sharpers, when he is at the same time in all their most secret counsels, and one of their chiefs? Yes, my friend, I repeat it, the attachment of an angel like Warner Mifflin to the sect of Quakers, is the fairest apology for that Society.

He took me one day to see his intended wife, Miss Ameland,¹ whom he was to marry in a few days. She is a worthy companion of this reputable Quaker. What mildness! What modesty! and at the same time, what entertainment in her conversation! Miss Ameland¹ once loved the World. She made verses and music, and was fond of dancing. Though young still, she has renounced all these amusements, to embrace the life of an anchorite. In the midst of the world, she has persisted in her design, notwithstanding the pleasantries of her acquaintance.

¹ Emlen.

LETTER XXI., PP. 279, 280.

LAWS OF THE DIFFERENT STATES FOR THE MANUMISSION
OF SLAVES.

. . . In this State,¹ famous for the wisdom of its laws, for its good faith and federal patriotism, resides that angel of peace, Warner Mifflin. Like Benezet, he occupies his time in extending the opinions of his Society relative to the freedom of the Blacks, and the care of providing for their existence and their instruction. It is in part to his zeal that is owing the formation of a Society in that state, after the model of the one at Philadelphia for the abolition of slavery.

APPENDIX TO LETTER XXII., P. 299.

ON THE GENERAL STATE, MANNERS AND CHARACTER OF
THE BLACKS IN THE UNITED STATES.

. . . One of the most ardent petitioners to Congress in this cause,² was the respectable Warner Mifflin. His zeal was rewarded with atrocious calumnies, which he always answered with mildness, forgiveness and argument.

¹ Delaware.² Suppression of the slave trade.

ANECDOTES AND MEMOIRS OF WARNER MIFFLIN.¹

Ezekiel Coston, aged upwards of eighty years, related to Samuel Canby, of Wilmington, in the State of Delaware, in the 2d month, 1825, the following circumstances of his life: That he was born a slave, in the family of Daniel Mifflin, of Accomac County, Virginia, with whom he lived until about twenty years of age; about which period, Warner Mifflin, son of Daniel, married a daughter of Kensey Johns, of West River, Maryland, and settled near Camden, in the State of Delaware. Ezekiel and five other slaves were given him by his father; there were also a number of slaves belonging to his wife, brought into the family. He lived with Warner Mifflin about eighteen months, when he put him on a plantation of his, to work it, about six miles from his residence, where he continued about four years a slave.

At this period, Ezekiel was informed by his master, that he had concluded to set his slaves free. And very soon after, his master came to his residence, and calling him from the field where he was ploughing, they sat down together, when he told Ezekiel his mind had long been uneasy with holding slaves, and that he

¹ From "Friends' Miscellany," vol. V., No. 5.

must let him go. Ezekiel was so well satisfied with his situation, that he told his master he could not leave him. Their conversation on the subject produced such feelings of tenderness, that they both wept much. Finally, as an inducement to comply, his master told him he might remain on the farm; and they entered into a mutual agreement, which was carried into effect, and Ezekiel continued to live on the farm fourteen years. Warner then gave him a piece of land, upon which he built a house, where he remained until he came to reside in the neighbourhood of Wilmington. After relating the foregoing narrative, he was inquired of respecting the account which had been published of Warner Mifflin's interview with his man, James, at the time of his liberation. Ezekiel shed tears when the story was read to him—and said, "It is just so; poor Jim and I lived together with master, and worked together in harmony. How well I remember, when Jim told me that master Mifflin had done the same by him, as he had for me. It is all true—mistress brought a number of slaves with her into the family, after master married her—one of them was my wife,—all the rest of us, making, I suppose, about thirty, were given by old master, to master Warner, who is now an angel in heaven. Oh! how it comforts me to believe that after suffering a few more pains, I shall live with him forever, in sweet communion. We were brought up

children together, slept together, and eat at the same table, and never quarreled."

About the year 1785, Warner Mifflin had a religious concern to visit his brethren in England. This was opened to Friends of his own Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and by them approved, so as to furnish him with regular certificates of their unity with him in his religious prospects. Warner Mifflin was then an elder, and, according to the order and discipline of Society, he produced his certificates, and spread his concern before the General Meeting of Ministers and Elders, held in Philadelphia, in the spring of 1786. It was probably a new case for an elder to come forward with a religious concern to cross the Atlantic, on a visit to the churches. There does not appear to have been any doubt of the rectitude of his concern; and, had the General Meeting acted on the feelings of unity produced on the occasion, there is no doubt he would have been set at liberty to pursue the very important object he had in view, of visiting the meetings for discipline in England. But, it was suggested by some Friends, that there was no letter of discipline, pointing out a way for elders to visit the churches; and, therefore, as Warner's concern was especially to build up Israel, in the line of order, Friends thought he must go orderly. Job Scott, who was present on the occasion, says he was very submissive, and his concern was feelingly weighty.

To us of the present day, it may be a subject of regret that he was thus prevented from prosecuting his visit. The importance of right order, and the exercise of Christian discipline in society, might well call forth the religious concern and labours of faithful elders in the church—as well as ministers. About the time of Warner Mifflin's proposal to go to England, an unusual number of American Friends were engaged in a similar exercise; and his acknowledged skill, judgment and zeal in the maintenance of the discipline of society might have been eminently useful.

We are informed, however, that in the course of his life he visited the several Yearly Meetings of Friends on this continent, as well as many other meetings for discipline. In these services, which were well accepted by Friends, he was careful to move with the concurrence of his brethren at home.

Nor was Warner Mifflin alone in his religious exercises and labours and travels, for the due support of right order and discipline among Friends. Other elders traveled with certificates of unity under similar concerns. Among these was Jacob Lundy, of Hardwich, who several times had minutes from his Monthly Meeting, to visit Quarterly and Monthly Meetings at Redstone and in the back parts of Pennsylvania. We might name George Churchman, Oliver Paxson, and divers others; more especially, if the example of those elders who have gone before, might

be the means of stirring up or encouraging others of the present day to a right concern to "go and do likewise."

In the second volume of "The Friend of Peace," a valuable work, published, a few years since, by Noah Worcester, of Brighton, Massachusetts, we find the following interesting account of Warner Mifflin. As it has relation to some of the statements in his own narrative, we think it worthy of a place in this work. It is headed, "General Washington and Warner Mifflin." The author of "The Friend of Peace" says:

"In reading the Travels of Brissot, in the United States, my attention was arrested by the following passage: 'I was sick, and Warner Mifflin came to see me. It is he that first freed all his slaves; it is he, who, without a passport, traversed the British army, and spoke to General Howe, with so much firmness and dignity;—it is he, who, fearing not the effects of the general hatred against the Quakers, went, at the risk of being treated as a spy, to present himself to General Washington, to justify to him the conduct of the Quakers;—it is he, that amidst the furies of war, equally a friend to the French, the English, and the Americans, carried generous succours to those among them, who were suffering. Well! this angel of peace came to see me.'

"Having never before heard, or not remembering the facts referred to, I had a desire for further infor-

mation; but knew not from what quarter it could be obtained. Unsolicited, however, and unexpectedly, the intelligence soon came, by a letter from a gentleman in Pennsylvania, who was acquainted with Warner Mifflin. From his account, the following concise statement will be given: The battle of Germantown happened on the day of the Yearly Meeting of the Quakers, in Philadelphia. In the time of the battle, these friends of peace were engaged in prayer, that Divine protection might be granted to the city and the people; and in preparing to renew their testimony against the spirit of war. While James Thornton was writing their Testimony, the cannon shook the house, where they were assembled, and the air was darkened by the smoke of the guns. Warner Mifflin undertook the service of communicating the Testimony to General Washington and General Howe. To perform this duty, he had to walk in blood, and among the dead bodies of those who had fallen in battle. He performed the service with great freedom and intrepidity. In the conversation with general Washington, he said expressly, 'I am opposed to the revolution, and to all changes of government which occasion war and blood-shed.'

"After general Washington was elected president of the United States, Warner Mifflin went to visit him at New York, and was treated by the president with kindness and respect. In the course of the interview, the president recollected what Mifflin had

said to him at Germantown, and thus addressed him: ‘Mr. Mifflin, will you please to inform me on what principles you were opposed to the revolution?’ Mifflin answered, ‘Yes, friend Washington;—upon the same principles that I should be opposed to a change in this government. All that ever was gained by revolutions, are not adequate compensation to the poor mangled soldier, for the loss of life or limb.’ After some pause and reflection, the president replied, ‘Mr. Mifflin, I honour your sentiments;—there is more in *that*, than mankind have generally considered.’ ”

In the 11th month, 1791, Warner Mifflin presented his “Memorial, to the president, senate, and house of representatives of the United States,” on the subject of slavery. His object was to plead the cause of the oppressed, obtain redress of their wrongs, and alleviation of the sufferings and oppressions of the African race, in this land.

On account of some reflections cast on him, or his Address to the general government, he published, a short time after, his serious Expostulations with the members of the house of representatives, in relation to the principles of liberty, and the inconsistency and cruelty of the slave trade, and of slavery.

These Essays show the undaunted firmness and zeal of the writer, his cogent reasoning, and powerful appeals to the understanding and the heart, on behalf of suffering humanity. In the testimony of Mother-

kill Monthly Meeting, it is stated, amongst other things, that "that which conspicuously marked his character, was his disinterested labours, and the dedication of his time and talents in advocating the cause and promoting the liberation of the black people. On that subject, he frequently expostulated with rulers and men in power, with Christian boldness, influenced, as we believe, by wisdom from above; endeavouring to dissuade them from encouraging the unrighteous traffic, and pointing out its cruelly oppressive effects upon the lives and liberties of our fellow-men."

In the year 1798 he attended the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia during the prevalence of the yellow fever, and, it was thought, died of that disease soon after his return home, aged about fifty-three years.

Isaac T. Hopper June 8th 1796

THE
DEFENCE

OF

WARNER MIFFLIN

Against Aspersions cast on him on
Account of his endeavours
To promote

RIGHTEOUSNESS, MERCY AND PEACE,
AMONG MANKIND.

Seeing " It is good to be zealously affected with a good thing;
" am I therefore your Enemy, because I tell you the Truth"

GAL. CHAP. IV.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY SAMUEL SANSOM, jun. No. 27,
MULBERRY-STREET.

1796.

WARNER MIFFLIN'S MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE.¹

“A Defence Against Aspersions, cast on him on account of his Endeavors to promote Righteousness, Mercy and Peace, among Mankind.”

I was born, and chiefly raised, on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Although my parents were of the religious society, called Quakers, and exemplary in their lives, yet I was subject to great incitements to a departure from the principles, held by that people; there being none of that profession, except our family, within sixty miles. My associates were those, who tenaciously held the prevailing sentiments in favour of slavery; so that I had no opportunity of having my heart and views enlarged, on this interesting subject, by conversing with such of my brethren in profession, who had come to see the necessity of an impartial inquiry into the nature and tendency of this atrocious practice.

Thus circumstanced, and my father then possessing a number of slaves, I was in great danger of becoming blinded by the influence of custom, the bias of education, and the delusions of self-interest; by which I must certainly have become fettered, as in chains of wrong habits, had not the emanations of

¹ Extract from “Friends’ Miscellany,” vol. V., No. 5, Fourth month, 1834.

Divine light and grace, to which I had been early instructed to give attention, powerfully prevailed in successive visitations; so operating, as to subvert the effects of dangerous prepossessions, and disposing my mind to yield to the influences of pure wisdom, in regard to this, to my present view, one of the worst of sins.

About the fourteenth year of my age, a circumstance occurred, that tended to open the way for the reception of those impressions, which have since been sealed, with indelible clearness, on my understanding. Being in the field with my father's slaves, a young man among them questioned me, whether I thought it could be right, that they should be toiling in order to raise me, and that I might be sent to school; and by and by, their children must do so for mine. Some little irritation, at first, took place in my feelings; but his reasoning so impressed me, as never to be erased from my mind.

Before I arrived at the age of manhood, I determined never to be a slave-holder. But the idea of losing so much property, as I might reasonably expect, from the great number of slaves my father possessed, at first view, seemed hard to reconcile. When I settled in a married life, the proving of my faith on the subject of slavery commenced. I became possessed of several minor slaves, by my wife; and divers came from my father's, on different errands, with the conclusion to reside with me, without any move

thereto on his part, or mine; also, my mother's family of blacks, from Kent County, Maryland, came to live with me. Thus, all I then had, of lawful age, being volunteers in my service, I rested quiet in the use of them; until, at length, I became almost persuaded, I could not do without them.

When the subject of setting the blacks free was treated on, the prevailing opinion was, that negroes were such thieves, that they would not do to be free. And though this was chiefly the plea of slave-holders, yet I was glad to embrace it, as a pretext for keeping mine. But I was not suffered long to rest unreproved, in this spot. My fig-leaf covering of excuse was stripped off, and my state discovered to me, by the penetrating rays of that Light, which maketh manifest; for "whatsoever maketh manifest, is light." From these convictions, a considerable conflict arose in my mind. But after continuing for some time, debating, resolving, and re-resolving, a period arrived, when He who hath his way in the clouds, in the whirlwind, in the earthquake, and in the thick darkness,—was pleased to arouse me to greater vigilance, by his terrors for sin; and for having omitted to do what had clearly appeared as my duty, in this business.

In the time of a thunder storm, when every flash of lightning seemed as though it might be the instrument to despatch me into a state of fixedness, and with the measure of my duty herein, not filled up,—

what could I expect, if taken hence in that condition, but an eternal separation from heavenly enjoyment? Though these sensations may appear strange to some, who neither fear God, nor regard man, yet I still retain a willingness, that such seasons of convulsion in the outward elements, may be impressive of solid instruction to my mind.

It then settled on my understanding, that I should be excluded from happiness, if I continued in this breach of the Divine law, written upon my heart, as by the finger of God: although want and disgrace to my family seemed to present, with threatening aspect, if I should adhere to the dictates of justice. I therefore, in the year 1774, manumitted those I had, as my wife's property; flattering myself that I might retain such who came of their own accord, while they chose to continue as heretofore. But, being visited with affliction, and the presentation of an awful eternity, a willingness was wrought in me, to cast my care on a merciful Providence, and, at all events, to resign to what I did believe was called for, at my hands,—that of bearing a faithful testimony against the abominable practice of enslaving my fellow-men. I therefore let my father know that he must take the blacks away, or authorise me to set them free. He readily told me, I might do as I would; on which, in the year 1775, I executed another deed of emancipation for all I held, as mine.

It is with peculiar satisfaction, I can remark, that

my father was not long behind me, in espousing the cause of liberty. After sealing the sincerity of his professions, by the liberation of about a hundred slaves,—notwithstanding the discouragement of a law then existing, he became a zealous advocate, and intercessor for them, with their masters; and in many instances, his labors were successful. He often appeared alone in courts of law, amidst surrounding opponents, to plead the cause of individuals, of the African race, who had a claim to freedom.

About the twenty-fourth year of my age, I was put into commission of a justice of the peace; which tended to excite considerable thirst for preferment in government;—a taste for which had much impeded my testimony against slavery, as it furnished an additional idea of the necessity for slaves, to support me in that mode of life. But, after those seasons of conflict, before hinted at, I became impressed with a belief, that it was right for me to decline this office, and with it any future advancement to stations in power.

Although I revere magistracy, believing in the sacred text, that it is “an ordinance of God,” and a great benefit to mankind, when executed under his holy and preserving fear;—yet, in the present state of the governments of this world, I apprehend my brethren in profession cannot be active therein, consistent with our principles of being called to become, through a faithful adherence to Divine monitions,

even as some of the first fruits of the nations unto God, in the support of our Christian testimony against war; with which the various governments amongst men have so much affinity.

I was solemnly impressed with the importance of the trust, when about to undertake the commission, and resolved to discharge my duty therein;—yet, though I endeavored to perform this, to the best of my understanding, I never felt that peace of mind which I desired, during my continuance in office. This brought me into a strict scrutiny, which was succeeded by a confirmation of the truth of our great Master's declaration, when he said, "My kingdom is not of this world." To these sentiments and principles, my mind hath remained steadfastly attached, when, at different times since, I have been solicited to accept of any station or office, either in the legislative or executive departments of government. I know the mind becomes, at least, considerably disqualified, for the promulgation of peace and good-will amongst men, when it embarks in human policy, on its fluctuating sea of party spirit, that gendereth envy, malice, revenge, rents, divisions, and war. The abundant use of oaths, with frequent perjuries, in what relates to matters of government, appears to me, not only a manifest violation of the injunction of Christ to his followers, "Swear not at all;" because, whatsoever exceedeth the simple and plain communication

of "Yea, yea, and nay, nay, cometh of evil;"—but is also a profanation of the sacred Name.

And indeed, I have felt scrupulous of taking an active part at elections, lest I should not only become tintured with a spirit of party but also contribute, by my vote, to the placing in power of those who might thereby become oppressors of tender consciences. If we give no just occasion of offence, but are, in other respects, useful members of the community, we may, without censure, be permitted to exercise these scruples; and it would be more to the honour, as well as blessedness of the world, if tenderness of conscience was more cherished.

To resume my narrative. I was concerned in the settlement of two estates, to which many of the African race belonged. In one case, they were willed to the heirs particularly named, and, as executor, I at first conceived I must exercise the government over them, in order to enable me to settle with the heirs. But when I turned solidly to consider the subject, I felt that I should not be justified in doing that for another, which I was fully convinced was a sin for me to do, on my own account. This prospect being clear, a solemn impression, which I believed to be the language of holy certainty, was made on my mind, that neither I, nor mine, should ever suffer, by my discharging them: and this intimation, I believe, was never doubted by me. I called them in, and let them

know, that, so far as I had power, they were free. Some, who were hired by their own consent, I informed, they must continue the time out, and they should have their wages; and likewise all their earnings, since their master's death. This was fully complied with, on my part, to the best of my knowledge: and, according to my faith, so was the event;—the several heirs, as they arrived at lawful age, confirmed the liberation of the slaves, and released me.

I also found an engagement to make restitution to those I had held in a state of bondage, for the time so held; which was done, according to the judgment of indifferent men, agreed on by the blacks and myself. And, on reflection, I found I had so much hand in selling some, as to bring me under an obligation to release them; which I did, to a considerable amount, on my own account, my then wife's, and some who had belonged to her father and grandfather.

About this time, I was appointed on a committee, to labour with the members of our society, who held slaves, in order for the convincement of their understandings of the inconsistency of the practice with Christianity. Which labours were so far blest, that in a little time, most of our members liberated their slaves.

Now great stir was made, as if the country was going to be overturned and ruined. It seemed as if the living spirit had gone forth, to deceive the peo-

ple. On setting my blacks free, I thought it best to put them from me, in order to manifest that they were free. It was then circulated, that Mifflin had set free a parcel of lazy, worthless negroes, that he could make nothing by them, and therefore had set them at liberty. This reflection, however unjust, had some weight with me; and regarding that scripture injunction, "let not then your good be evil spoken of," I thought it expedient to propose their having land, and teams; and in return, they should give me half their produce. This was put in execution with those who chose to accept the terms. Immediately, the tune was turned, and it was reported, that Mifflin was making more money by his negroes now, than ever, and keeping them in more abject slavery, under the pretence of their being free. I then determined to do what I believed was right, not regarding the unbridled tongues of men: and so I have endeavored to act, passing through both good and evil report.

Another trial occurred. I felt religiously engaged in testimony against the pernicious use of ardent spirits, so generally prevalent, particularly in time of harvest. We had been in the superfluous use of it, in my family, when I was in the commission of the peace; so that I frequently kept the bottle and the bowl on the table, from morning till night: it being then, and I fear is yet, too much the corrupt manner, by which worldly promotion is commonly attained. I now found a sore conflict was to be experienced, in

adopting a practice, so reverse to what I had been in, and in which I should stand alone. And, having discharged my slaves, I feared I might never be able to save my grain, or carry on my farming to support my family: but the conviction of the rectitude of this concern was such, that I felt constrained to make the attempt. I had a number of people at work in my fields; among others, a master-mason and divers of his hands; and I thought if he became reconciled to work without spirits, it would tend to settle the minds of his companions. I therefore began to discourse with him, while he was reaping: when, in a most shocking manner, he damned religion, and said he would have rum. This so affected me, that I left the field,—apprehending I should never be able to stem such a torrent. But, seriously pondering on the subject and the concern enlarging in my view, with increasing weight, it was sealed on my understanding, that if I should hand out this liquor, and any life, by its means, be lost, (as I had several times seen a danger of being the case) I should not be clear of the blood of such. On which, I determined, through Divine assistance, never to use it again, on any like occasions; and, with thankfulness, I may acknowledge, I have been favoured never to suffer damage, through the disuse of it in my fields; and have been so preserved from the misapplication of it since, that in all my concerns, there has not been one pint used,

except on particular occasions, as medicine, and that but little.

The American Revolution now began to make its appearance; and as I was religiously restrained from taking any part therein, the epithet of toryism was placed on me, by interested holders of slaves. Insinuations were also thrown out, that my labour for the freedom of the blacks was in order to attach them to the British interest; notwithstanding I had liberated mine, on the ground of religious conviction, before this revolutionary period arrived. Added to this, on the issuing of the bills of credit, by Congress, I felt restricted from receiving them, lest I might thereby, in some sort, defile my hands with one of the engines of war. From this circumstance, I was further dipped into sympathy with the condition of the blacks; for, by declining to use the paper money, I was in danger of being declared an enemy to my country, and like them, to be thrown out from the benefit of its laws: and this for no other crime, but yielding to the impulses of Divine grace, or obedience to the law of God, written in my heart; which I ever found the safest ground to move upon.

Abundant threats were poured out, that my house should be pulled down over my head;—that I should be shot, carted, &c. This proved a fiery trial, and my mind was almost overwhelmed, lest I should bring my family to want, and for fear that it might be through

a deception. In the bitterness of my soul, I left my house in the night-season, and walked into a field; but without any sensible relief, returned again to the house. On stepping in at the door, I saw a Testament, and opening it at the 13th chapter of Revelations, found mention there made of a time when none should buy or sell, but those who received the mark of the beast, in the right hand, or forehead. Now, it fixed in my mind, that if I took that money, after receiving those impressions, I should receive a mark of the bestial spirit of war, in my right hand, and then, the penalty which is annexed, and described in the ensuing chapter, must follow. I then resolved, through the Lord's assistance, (which I craved might be afforded,) let what would follow, never to deal in any of it. This afforded me some relief; and, finding my wife so far united with me, as to refuse it likewise, she saying, though she did not feel the matter as I did, yet, for fear of weakening my hands, she was most easy not to touch it,—I became much strengthened, and resigned to suffer what might be permitted; feeling, at times, the prevalence of that Power, which delivers from all fear of the malice of men, or infernal spirits, and which reduces the soul into perfect subjection to the holy will, and ordering of the Divine Providence.

Light seems to be increasingly spreading, on this subject; or, at least, more are disposed to yield to its emanations, than heretofore. An instance of this

appears in a pamphlet, written by a clergyman, in England, and lately reprinted in Philadelphia, which I would recommend to the perusal of my readers. In it are these remarks: "Such is the dread of singularity, in dissenting from opinions, sanctioned by public approbation and applause, that but few have courage to forsake the beaten track, and think for themselves, in matters confessedly of the highest importance. And thus, the specious reasonings and conclusions of men, who have no better claim to infallibility than ourselves,—are suffered to divert us from a simple attention to the example, and unambiguous precepts of him, who has presented to us, in his own sacred person, celestial excellence, and the most complete pattern of all moral virtue. On subjects, which do not relate to the great truths of religion, we may be indifferent; and it is, doubtless, best not to be earnest and tenacious for either side of the question: but, in relation to doctrines, upon the establishment and promulgation of which, the temporal, and perhaps the eternal welfare of millions, to some measure, depends,—it is the duty of interest of every one to search for truth, as for hid treasure;—to be fully persuaded in his own mind, that his principles are founded in immutable Truth, and unerring rectitude. Let such then unfold the sacred volume, and say in what part of it they can find any passage, that will, either directly or indirectly, prove war to be justifiable, on Christian principles;—that will fur-

nish one argument in favour of a Christian's endeavouring to injure his fellow-creature, even his most bitter and inveterate enemy, so much as in thought;—or, what is more, that can justify him in dislodging a human soul from its appointed tabernacle, by destroying that life, which he neither gave, nor can restore. Do not the doctrines of the New Testament uniformly declare against it; and most expressly and unequivocally prove, that war is directly opposed to the very aim and end of Christianity; which offers reconciliation to the greatest offenders, and makes our acceptance with God, absolutely to depend on our forgiveness of those, by whom we, ourselves, have been injured."

"What can be said in extenuation of the guilt of those who set others on to war, who never saw each other's faces, nor even had any possible occasion for hatred or animosity? Who can say that such are more innocent, than the duelist and suicide, or less deserving the punishment due to such heinous offences against the Divine law?"

An occurrence took place, which produced renewed exercise of mind, and, in the hour of affliction, sealed further instruction on this subject. I received a severe hurt on my leg; and while under extreme anguish in dressing it, was brought into sympathy with a poor soldier, whose leg being fractured, he was left without help, in the field of battle. Even since arriving to years, capable of judging, I have

had a testimony against war; but never so powerfully impressive, as at that time. So that I told my wife, if every farthing we possessed was seized for the purpose of supporting war, and I was informed that it should all go, unless I voluntarily gave a shilling, I was satisfied I should not so redeem it.

Shortly after this, an account arrived, that a vessel from the West Indies was run ashore, by the English, at Lewistown; and the militia were called upon to keep them from plundering her. On hearing which, this clear presentation took place: here is the channel, through which, in a time of national hostility, those sweets that I am so fond of, come, at the manifest risk of the lives of my fellow-men. I remembered, impressively, what were David's sensations, when his valiant men rushed through the Philistine army, to bring him water from a well, which he longed for. He was struck with sympathy for them; and because they went in jeopardy of their lives, he was not easy to gratify his palate therewith, but poured it out, in dedication to the Lord. In like manner, I felt a prohibition from using foreign imports; and, during the continuance of the war, never touched therewith, except what seasoning of salt might have been in my food, when from home. And, being brought into deep feeling for the oppressions of the poor Africans, in the West Indies, I have not been easy with indulging myself in using the produce of their labour, since; lest it should, even in a small

degree, contribute towards the continued existence of a trade, which interests the planters in keeping up the numbers of their groaning labourers.

The revolutionary war advancing, with increasing distress, gloomy prospects opened, and close provings seemed at the door of such as were measurably redeemed from the spirit of party. Not only our testimony against war, in the support of which, our religious society has often been brought under trials; but that, against pulling down or setting up, governments, was brought to the test. There are those who, from full experience, know that it is not a cunningly devised fable, but the Truth of God revealed in the heart, which shows us that we are called to exalt the pure standard of the Prince of peace, above all party rage, strife, contention, rents and divisions, in the spirit of meekness and wisdom; and, in quietness and confidence, patiently to suffer for the promotion of this peaceable government of Christ, manifested in and through an innocent life and conversation, in which the language is felt, "Glory to God in the highest; on earth, peace and good-will to men."

This has been the experience of many; and such were my own sensations, when, at one view, I beheld both armies, and had to risk a passage through them. I counted none of my enemy. I felt no fear from anything on my part, either in thought, word or deed; many times concluding, I should have no objection for the two contending generals to have known

my whole heart and conduct. At an early period of that calamity, I had been convinced that it would not do for me, even in thought, to wander without the boundaries of my professed principles; otherwise I could not expect to be sustained by the God of the faithful, whose everlasting arm of help, with humble gratitude I may acknowledge, hath been stretched out for my strengthening and confirmation, in divers instances: one of which was, when called upon, among others, for the support of Truth, to appear before the Assembly of Pennsylvania, on behalf of our Friends, who were banished from Philadelphia to Virginia. Another, when on the day of the battle at Germantown, our Yearly Meeting issued a testimony respecting our peaceable principles,—I was one, among others, appointed to present it to the commander-in-chief, of each army. This was a proving time,—to pass through opposing armies, most of whose minds were probably agitated, and many of them afresh fired, by the spirit of war, from their recent engagement;—and with no passport or shield to protect us from any merciless attack, but our own innocence, sheltered by the wing of Divine preservation. But herein, I was brought into renewed sympathy with our oppressed brethren of the African race, many of whom are exposed to the uncontrolled power of man, without any earthly tribunal, whereunto they can appeal for redress of grievances.

Through many similar exercises, with frequent

demands for, though but little seizure of, my property, I passed along, till the close of the war, when great spoil was made. But, at length, through a steady perseverance, things began to wear a different aspect; hard speeches, sour looks, and threats gradually abated,—and throughout the whole, I had not an insult offered to me, in person.

Congress having published a declaration, that they “hold these truths to be self-evident;—that all men are created equal;—that they are endowed by their Creator, with certain inalienable rights;—that, among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;—and that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men.” And seeing this was the very substance of the doctrine I had been concerned to promulgate, for years,—I became animated with a hope, that if the representatives were sincere, and inculcated these views among the people generally, a blessing to this nation would accompany those endeavours.

To serve my country, by my exertions to remove one cause of impending judgment, I was concerned to unite with my brethren, in representing the case of the enslaved Africans, to different legislative bodies. In the year 1782, we appeared before the Assembly of Virginia; which was attended with great satisfaction, having a set of liberal-spirited members to deal with;—when a law took place, admitting of emancipation: to which law, Judge Tucker, in his

late publication, says, may be attributed the liberation of some thousands of blacks. In 1783, we presented a memorial to Congress, respecting the slave-trade; and met with encouragement. Afterwards, in the legislatures of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware, some important steps were taken. Also, in our subsequent application to Congress, it was evident that a large part of that body were favourably disposed towards the rights of this people.

From these encouraging circumstances, I was induced to hope that Divine favour might yet be continued to this land; yet I was often impressed with fears, that our progress in this business was not proportionable to the light which had arisen. Indeed, it is a mournful consideration, that this nation should yet be stained with the blood of the African slave-trade; and that seven hundred thousand slaves, according to late calculation, should continue to groan, in a land of boasted liberty. My heart has been grieved, and my soul has lamented, for this afflicted race, as well as for the condition of my country; having often felt apprehensive that the hand of judgment would be stretched out upon a guilty people, if there was not a greater reformation from this, and other evils and vices, too prevalent in the land.

Fully believing that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a shame to any people,"—I am anxiously desirous that we may be numbered with the wise promoters of the public good. For I am per-

suaded, that the growing sins of America, if persisted in, will finally be attended with dreadful consequences; according to the testimony of the sacred record, that, verily, there is a reward for the righteous; and verily, there is a God that judgeth in the earth. In the due exercise of his judgment, taking cognizance of the actions of men, he will assuredly recompence to all, according to the fruit of their doings;—to nations, as well as to individuals;—let the sophist speculate as he will, about sacred things, in that wisdom which darkens counsel, by words without true knowledge.

It is from a sense of duty, both to myself and my country, that I make these observations, and state some things, interesting to both. It was on this ground, I became engaged with others, to urge the subject of our righteous concern to different legislatures; in order to remove legislative obstacles from those who are disposed to liberate their slaves, and to protect those who are set free. And though salutary laws have been enacted in some States, for which, I believe, a blessing will attend them, yet still the evil is continued in other parts; where conscientious persons are discouraged from liberating their slaves,—as, by existing laws, the blacks are liable again to be taken into bondage, by dissolute people who are disposed to avail themselves of unrighteous laws; and in many instances, great numbers have been cruelly seized, and sold into renewed bondage.

Doth this not excite a fearful apprehension, that the measure of their iniquity is filling up, who so act, and that they are ripening for the chastisement which shall be poured upon the workers of iniquity? An additional enormity prevailing, is, the kidnapping of free blacks, carrying them off, and selling them for slaves;—in some instances, whole families, and in others, separating them one from another.

It is urged as a great objection to the emancipation of the blacks, their disposition to pilfering.—But, is not the depriving of them of that most valuable property, liberty,—and keeping them under the oppression of slavery, the very cause of this fault? Being pinched, at times, for every necessary of life, they put forth a hand to partake of what, in equity, their labour gives them some claim to from their possessors, where due support is withheld: And these practices becoming habitual in their impoverished condition, they discriminate not sufficiently between the property of those they labour for, and others; but when opportunity presents, frequently supply their wants from all alike, except when a principle of religious rectitude restrains from all such acts. I attempt not to palliate the crime. I have endeavoured, what lay in my power, to discourage such proceedings, and to point out the necessity of departing from these practices,—labouring to inculcate the Christian doctrine of returning good for evil, whereby they might know an overcoming of evil with good.

But as slavery decreases, and becomes exploded, we may reasonably hope its concomitant habits will also decrease and a greater nobility of soul take place. I believe the Almighty has arisen in judgment, in this business,—and that his voice will be found to exceed the sound of many waters, or all the cavils of the people, and will finally over-power all opposition.

If we were more faithful in the discharge of our duty towards God, and this people, I believe they would act differently towards us. But where do negro crimes exceed the crimes of white people? When we see men, selling tender babes from a fond mother,—a beloved wife, from an affectionate husband,—or, an aged father from his offspring, with whom he lived from their early years;—Ah! what language can paint, in its genuine colours, this abominable practice!!

How rejoicing would it be to me, if, with Divine allowance, I might be placed in a situation, exempt from that continued grief of soul, which is almost daily renewed, by seeing and hearing those acts of inhumanity, committed by my countrymen! Could I have believed myself authorised by the approbation of heaven, I should, long ere this time, have sought an asylum, in some other quarter. But I desire to be found in my proper allotment, the little time I may be here,—faithfully discharging my duty towards my Creator, and my country.

Some advance that negroes pay no regard to the

natural ties of husband and wife, parent and child; but I know to the contrary. Unnatural and hardened characters there are in all nations; but that such abound more, among this people than others, in proportion to their circumstances, I cannot admit. Where such instances have occurred, to whom must we attribute the fault? To the poor, degraded blacks; or to the nominal professors of the blessed name of Christ?

It has been reported that I have persuaded the blacks to run from their masters, and that I give them passes whenever they apply, without discriminating between those who are free, and others. But it is the reverse of my judgment of propriety, in preserving the peace of society, to persuade these people from their claimers' service; and beneath the uprightness of my profession, to recommend any as free people, who are not such. I believe a cause that is sanctioned by omnipotent Goodness, needs no such efforts to make it successful: but the more pure and upright its espousers are, the more it will be advanced. I believe the voice of the spiritual Moses, even the Lord from heaven, who is a quickening spirit, has been as intelligibly sounded in the ears of Americans, as the voice of Moses was formerly heard by the Egyptians: and "if they escaped not, who refused him that spake on earth, how much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him who speaketh from heaven?"

I am troubled at seeing any run from their masters, and generally counsel such, that it is my judgment they had better remain at home, in quiet resignation, as much as possible, to their allotment; and that, if through a good conduct they should obtain favour of their Maker, he could change the hearts of their possessors, and induce them to set them free. Some have taken my counsel, and returned; others have judged best to pursue their own prospects, let the event be as it might.

Is there a white man among thousands, who, if captured by the Algerines, would not embrace his liberty, should opportunity present? If I were a humane Algerine, residing in their land, and an American, in escaping from his master, ventured to call at my house, informing that he had not eaten anything for several days,—would his countrymen judge it criminal in me, to feed him? What then should be the conduct of the high professors of Christianity, in a similar case, towards a people who differ from us, by a few darker shades of the skin? Is there any part of our religion that would authorize us to seize such, and drag them again into bondage? Or, would it not be as great a violation of the righteous law of God, who, as scripture testifies, is no respecter of persons, but hath created of one blood all nations of men,—to seize on one of a dark complexion, as one of a fairer hue?

I dread the consequence of a continuance of wrong

things, in our land. Have we not seen evident tokens of Divine displeasure? Hath not the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, made their appearance, in various places? And, as a gentle rod shaken over us, are they not calling loudly for greater degrees of humility, repentance, and amendment of life; lest Omnipotence should pour forth upon us more abundantly the vials of his wrath; and tribulation, anguish, and woe should be the complicated portion of the inhabitants of this land. Let us then, by a strict attention to the discharge of our duty towards God and man, so act as to invite the blessings of the Lord upon us—for he is ever ready to shower down his favours on the obedient workmanship of his hands. That this may be our happy experience, is the desire and prayer of a lover of his country, and countrymen, a peaceable subject to its laws, and a universal friend to mankind.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

Kent, on Delaware, 11th mo., 1796.

A LETTER TO WARNER MIFFLIN.

To the Respectable

WARNER MIFFLIN,

NORTH AMERICA.

Respectable Warner Mifflin! Thou whose virtues have penetrated me with esteem for thyself; and with gratitude to the Supreme Being, who Amidst a race of carnal perfidious men has sent into the world such a person as thou art, for the consolation & honor of human nature. Think not unworthily of this little tribute of commendation which a Frenchman is eager to render to thy virtues. It is a Philanthropist, and consequently one of thy friends, who writes this letter, and who wishes not to flatter thee but to return the thanks for the good Example thou settest to thy fellow creatures, and for the benefits which thou conferest on them.

Yes! in my rural retirement I will consecrate to thee a Monument in the midst of my Groves. Yes! an inscription consisting only of a recital of the benefits thou hast bestowed on Mankind, shall serve as a

lesson and an example to my Children and to our more remote posterity.

(Sgd) LOMERIE

Member of the philanthropic Society of Paris—
of the Royal Society of agriculture of the
same City and of the Society of arts of
London.—Write to the Address
of Messrs. ——— at
Haver de Grace
.

FROM THE DIARY OF ELIZABETH
DRINKER.

“Oct. 11, 1777. Warner Mifflin and party returned from visit to G. Washington.” (p. 58.)

“Dec. 2, 1777. Warner Mifflin called, and sat with others smoking their pipes until after 3 o'clock.” (p. 70.)

“Dec. 6, 1794.” Mentions a negro boy sent “from one of the lower counties, Kent, I believe it was,” by Warner Mifflin; price 15 pounds. (p. 250.)

“Apl. 5, 1797. Warner and Nancy Mifflin, and Alexander Martin, member of Congress and formerly Governor of North Carolina, took tea with us.” (p. 300.)

TWO LETTERS FROM WARNER MIFFLIN TO HENRY DRINKER.¹

LETTER TO HENRY DRINKER.

Dear Friend:—I should have wrote thee before this, I believe, had not William Savery come along and got some account how matters went in our convention, but I have been uneasy since that I had not, thinking it was incumbent on us so to have done. I therefore give thee a short hint thereof. I believe I attended them every day through their sittings except one meeting-day, and I am very strongly suspicious that John Dickinson knew that was our meeting-day, as he then moved that the blacks should be prevented by the constitution from purchasing real property, etc., his conduct respecting the blacks and the conscientiously scrupulous against arms, induced one to believe that he was as great an enemy to the cause of righteousness as was in that body. I told him so in a letter delivered him myself the last day, and I do verily believe if any one Presbyterian in New Castle County had been there in his place, something would have been done in both cases, he was in the way. I told him those that came the nearest to the truth and were not in it, and profess it, were its greatest enemies. They have expunged the article respecting the

¹“Searches Among Old Papers—No. 8,” printed in *The Friend*.

militia, but altered the first respecting conscience, confining the rights of conscience to what they call worship. I called Coram out just after he had spoke on this subject, and queried who gave him the power to limit and square the rights of other men's consciences within such limited bounds, as such a circle. I told him it was necessary to vary his expressions, for if he limited the rights of conscience he was an usurper—he ought to vary it to something approved or pretended for, that the rights of conscience were sacred. And I called out several of the Presbyterians, and told them that if Presbyterians would only give Quakers as good a government as Quakers gave Presbyterians upwards of a century back, we should not complain, after they had such a length of time to improve and reform, that I was sorry to find that the seeds of persecution were manifest more within the limits of Penn's lines among the Presbyterians than any other part of the United States. I was sorry it was yet among them. I asked liberty to speak among them on this subject, in convention, which was readily granted. I let them know we were on that ground not to be disappointed, and I hope we were prepared to receive their determination. Be it as it might, I believed it was not likely to put us in a worse situation than we had been, that we had a sufficiency yet left, and that if they preferred oppressing tender consciences, that a curse instead of a blessing would be likely to attend their fines and penalties, that our

consolation would be that we had discharged our duty, and leave the event. A motion was made near their conclusion that no slave should be exported or imported into the State. This made some warmth. Sussex members picked up their hats and ran out, that on the vote there was then but seventeen would vote—eight for and nine against the motion. This was ill-timed. I did not promote it, so it stands.

I received a few lines the other day from Caspar W. Haines, mentioning a debt due from — Wallis to his father, and that in some way thou would have to pay money to Wallace, that he had spoken to thee respecting my debt due thee, and that thou was willing to settle it in this way, which is very agreeable to me and the more so, as it is to them, I expected to have received information from thee, whether a turn was likely to answer as was talked of respecting Pope, but not having heard from thee, I intended to have given thee a draft for some money I had in Philadelphia when thou was down, but thou did start sooner than I expected. Thou wilt therefore please settle my bond in this way, and I shall leave it with Caspar to discharge the whole of his father's bond, or only so much as will discharge that balance with me, as may best suit his conveniency, of which thou can inform me—though I shall write a few lines to him.

I want to send the paper I read to thee and Thomas Mooney for the consideration of Friends—circumstances call for something being done in some way.

The infernal business continues, and the clamor against me in Maryland increases. What will the issue be—perhaps the march through the land of what is called the Hessian fly will do something, as it has made its appearance in our neighborhood, as well as other strokes at the wheat—scale and rust.

I should like to be at your Quarter if an engagement on appointment of our own Quarter does not overbalance at that time—whether or not I expect thou may hear from me before that time. In haste, I am with love to self and family, thy affectionate friend,

WARNER MIFFLIN.

Sixth Month 27th, 1792.

HEAD OF SASSAFRAS,

6th of Eighth Month, 1792.¹

Respected Friend, Henry Drinker:—Being at this place, attending with a Committee of our Quarterly Meeting, of which number are our friends, Trustrem Needles and Mary Berry, when the former showed me a letter which he received from John Fariss, respecting the wagon that the European Friend had, that he had given some directions to inquire after, informing that it might be had for twenty-five

¹“Searches Among Old Papers—No. 10.” printed in *The Friend*.

pounds, and was under thy direction. Trustrem said he did not know what to do about it; that he was requested to give a speedy answer; that he was unprovided with the money, or he would have sent it up. It brought me into a feeling on the occasion, finding that I was interested therein as well as he, which induced me to ask how that wagon was purchased, as I knew nothing about it. A Friend present said it was purchased with the Yearly Meeting stock. On which I thought whether it would be improper to be used on the present occasion to take our friend, Mary Berry, to Carolina while it remains the property of the Yearly Meeting, or whether the Yearly Meeting stock is not used in that way for any but Europeans. I never saw one year's accounts of our Yearly Meeting in my life, but I thought I would propose this matter for thy consideration, and if it is improper I think it will lay with the members of our Quarterly Meeting more generally. I think it is not right to suffer any one Monthly Meeting to be too much straightened on such account, and propose to take some order therein when I receive an answer from thee, which I shall be pleased to receive as quick as possible, in order to return the necessary answer, as I do expect the wagon will be depended on for this journey.

Had it not been that this business I am now here upon had interfered at this time, I intended at your Quarter. I want the consideration of some Friend

on some of my performances very much. My conflict on account of the poor blacks is as great as ever, and a small addition thereto is by a great man living in Maryland, by will, leaving me four of his favorite negroes (the will being made before the law was passed authorizing freeing by will), one of them coming to me with a letter from the executor, was taken up by a tavern-keeper, tied and kept all night, and next day robbed of his money—of which I have clear proof. The negro had sufficient and clear pass. My babe has the ague. The rest of my family were tolerably well. My eldest daughter, Elizabeth, has left me since thou was down. She is married to Clayton Cowgill, eldest son of our valued friend, John Cowgill, deceased, which, though agreeable to me, yet I found it a great thing to give up to, the parting with a child. What would I do, then, if I was a negro, and had a daughter carried from me to Carolina? Oh, this!

My kind love to self and family and inquiring friends. Thine in heart,

WARNER MIFFLIN.

WARNER MIFFLIN'S OFFICIAL POSITIONS.

Magistrate for Kent Co., appointed 1770. See Col. Records of Pa., Vol IX., p. 645. Hist. Soc. Pa.

Justice of the Peace for Kent Co., from December 1771 to October, 1774; 2nd Series Penna. Archives, Vol. IX., p. 653. Hist. Soc. Pa.

A Justice of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and of the County Court of Common Pleas, for Kent Co., in 1774. Aitkens General Annual Register for 1774. Hist. Soc. of Maryland.

MANUMISSIONS OF SLAVES BY THE MEM-
BERS OF DUCK CREEK MONTHLY MEET-
ING ¹ AND SOME OTHER FRIENDS.

RECORDED ACCORDING TO DIRECTION OF 1ST DAY MEET-
ING 22D DAY OF 2 MO. 1777.

I, Warner Mifflin of the County of Kent on Dela-
ware, Merchant, do hereby manumit and set abso-
lutely free my negro Man called James (whom I set
at Liberty some time back and gave an Instrument of
Writing for said Purpose under my Hand and Seal)
also my negro Woman called Mariah aged about
twenty-three & her child Ann aged three years; and
her child Lydia aged six years to be absolutely free
at eighteen years of age; as also my negro Girl called
Melissa about twelve years of age, also to be abso-
lutely free at eighteen years of age: so that the said
negro Man James and negro Woman Mariah shall be
deemed adjudged and taken as and for free and at
their own disposal to all Intents and Purposes; and
also her child Ann and her child Lydia & the girl
Melissa when they arrive to eighteen years of age as
aforesaid without the Lett Hindrance or Molestation
of any Person or Persons whatsoever. In Witness

¹“First monthly meeting held at Duck Creek, 10 mo. 17.
1705.” (p. 111.)

“In 1852 the Preparative Meeting was laid down, and its
members joined Little Creek.” (p. 112) Michener’s “Retrospect of Early Quakerism.”

whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this twenty-second Day of the tenth Month in the year of our Lord One thousand, seven hundred and seventy-four—1774.

WARNER MIFFLIN. (SEAL)

Sealed & delivered in
the presence of

JOSEPH JENKINS.

DANIEL MIFFLIN.

JAMES STARR.

Record Examined. WARNER MIFFLIN.

Manumission 1st.

Slaves manumitted herein 5.

DEED OF MANUMISSION, EXECUTED BY WARNER MIFFLIN,
OF CHESTNUT GROVE, CAMDEN, DELAWARE.¹

I, WARNER MIFFLIN, of Kent County on Delaware, Merchant, fully persuaded in my Conscience that it is a Sin of a deep dye to make Slaves of my fellow Creatures, or to Continue them in Slavery, and believing it to be impossible to Obtain that Peace my Soul Desires while my Hands are found full of injustice, as by unjustly detaining in Bondage, those that have as just and Equitable Right to their Freedom and Lib-

¹ Recorded Monthly Meeting of Duck Creek, Book for Manumissions, pages 2 and 3. From the original MS. in the possession of his Granddaughter, Elizabeth (Johns Neall) Gay, of Staten Island, New York.

J Warner. Millin of Kent County on Delaware Merchant
fully persuaded in my Conscience that it is a Sin of a deep dye
to make Slaves of my fellow Creatures or to continue them in Sla-
very, and believing it to be impossible to obtain that Peace my Soul
Desires while my Hands are found full of injustice, as by unjustly
detaining in Bondage those that have a just and Equitable Right
to their Freedom and the Liberty of their persons as myself.

Therefore for remedying the same I do hereby declare all the
Negroes I have hereafter particularly Named, Absolutely Free
them and their Posterity for ever, from me my Heirs Executors
Adms and every of them. To wit Hannah an Antient Negrae
Woman, Ezekiel a Man about Twenty Five Years of Age, Beniah
a Negroe Man about Twenty Seven Years of Age, Phill a negrae
man about Twenty Years of Age, ^{Nancy} Negrae Woman about Thirty
Years of Age and her Girl Hannah about ^{fourteen} Years of Age
Daniel negrae boy about about Ten years ^{of age} her Girl Jerry
about Two Years ^{of age} Girl ^{of age} ~~Sammy~~ about Three Years ^{of age} Boy
Abram about Ten Months Old Negroe Grace, a woman about
Twenty Seven Years of Age, her Girl Betty, about Thirteen
Years of Age, Henny, Girl about Eleven Years of Age her boy Nick
and about Seven Years and Nine months Old Girl Rebecca about
Three years Old, hereby Intromitting them and Each of them
with Full and Free Liberty to come and suit in Law against me
my Heirs Executors Administrators or any of us that may attempt
to enthrall or enslave or deprive of their Liberty in any re-
spect by Colour or Pretence of Right derived from me And I do
hereby convey to them and each of them all the right Power and
Authority I now have or heretofore had to convince, or sentence
against any person that had ~~now gotten~~ ^{got} heretofore one of them
out of my possession and refused the Delivery Back again, each
one to stand in the place for him or herself that I ~~now have~~ ^{had} to
stand for them in behalf of my own Interest in the ^{James} ~~the~~ Case,
when they shall be entitled to recover all such costs as they may
be at in prosecuting the Suit from such of us as may attempt
as aforesaid. And I do hereby also lay it as a Charge on the Consci-
ences of the Court or Jury before whom it may be brought that
they particularly Adhere to this evidence in behalf of the Aff.

Negroes, But believing it to be my Duty to take upon my self the
 power and authority of the Young Ones to Please and Educate them
 till they arrive to full age, do therefore reserve that Privilege
 over the Male till they arrive to Twenty one Years of Age and the
 Female till they arrive to Eighteen Years of Age, which I solemnly
 direct to be determined by the Ages of each as particularly mentioned
 above calling them the very Age this day ^{that} they are said to be about
 such an Age. And whereas a Negro Man Named Solomon first
 came to me (nearly of forty Years of Age) being left by my Grand
 Mother Mary Mifflin to serve such of her Grand Children as pleased
 And by Letter just received from my Father Daniel Mifflin one of the
 Executors in her will Named informing me (he the said Negro Solomon
 made choice of me. I do ^{therefore} hereby declare said Negro Solomon
 Absolutely Free from me and my Heirs for ever and do entitle him
 to all and every the Privileges of the ^{other} on an attempt to deprive him
 as above said, In witness where as I have here before Manumitted and set
 Free my Negro Man James, Negro Woman Meriah, and her Child
 Sedia and Tany and Negro Girl Melia which Manumission or
 Clearance I deposited in the Keeping of the Monthly Meeting of the
 People of 1800 in this County, which I apprehend
 will be admitted to be read by direction of said Meeting together
 along with this, Now my desire is that this being produced or a Copy
 hereof Certified by the Clerk for the time being to said Meeting
 or in case there should be no Monthly Meeting of and for Duckbreck
 a Certified Copy from the Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting (of said
 People called Quakers) to which Duckbreck Monthly Meeting last
 belonged Certifying that such record appeared, shall be adjudged taken
 and accepted as full as I can enforce it, as if I were personally
 present and acknowledged the same thereof, And as such I desire that
 that none have any thing of the kind before them ^{that they} may particularly
 attend to and distribute justice impartially to the poor Negroes
 without the meaning here of the consequence be to ^{that I do hereby} my intention
 being to clear them from Slavery forever. This is given for ever
 believing Freedom to be their Nature and just right. To which I do hereunto
 interchangingly set my hand and Affix my seal this Ninth Day of the
 First month in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred
 Twenty & Five 1775
 Sealed and Acknowledged
 in Presence of us
 Joseph & Joseph
 Edward Cole

Warner Mifflin Seal
 1775

2d. Monthly Meeting Duckbreck. Book for
 Manumissions Page 263.

erty of their persons as myself.—Therefore for remedying the same I do hereby declare all the Negroes I have hereafter particularly Named, Absolutely Free, them and their Posterity forever, from me my Heirs, Executors, Adms., and every of them. To witt Hannah, an ancient Negroe Woman, Ezekiel, a Man about Twenty-Five Years of Age, Beniah, a Negroe Man about Twenty-Seven Years of Age, Paul, a negroe man, about Twenty Years of age, Nancy, a Negroe Woman about Thirty Years of age, and her Girl Hannah, about fourteen Years of Age, Daniel, her Negroe boy about Ten years of age, her Girl Jenny, about Five years of age, girl Nanny, about Three years of age, Boy Abram, about ten months old; Negroe Grace, a woman about Twenty-Seven years of age, her Girl Betty, about thirteen years of Age, Henny, her Girl about Eleven years of age, her boy Richard about Seven Years and Nine months old, Girl Rebecca, about Three years old; hereby Impowering them and Each of them with Full and Free Liberty to commence suit in Law against me, my Heirs, Executors, Administrators or any of us that may attempt to enthrawl imbondage or deprive of their liberty in any respect by Colour or Pretence of Right derived from me, and I do hereby convey to them and each of them all the Right Power and Authority I have heretofore had to commence an Action against any person that had heretofore got one of them out of my possession and refused the De-

livery Back again; each one to stand in the place for him or herself that I have had to stand for them in behalf of my Own Interest in the same case, when they shall be entitled to recover all such costs as they may be at in prosecuting the Suit from such of us as may attempt as aforesaid. And I do hereby also lay it as a Charge on the Consciences of the Court or Jury before whom it may be brought that they particularly adhere to this evidence in behalf of the aff'd. Negroes; But believing it to be my Duty to take upon myself the power and authority of the young ones to Raise and Educate them till they arrive to lawful age, do therefore reserve that Prerogative over the Male till they arrive to Twenty-one Years of Age, and the Female till they arrive to Eighteen Years of Age, which I do hereby direct to be determined by the Ages of Each as particularly mentioned afforesaid, calling them the very age this day that they are said to be about such an age. And whereas a Negroe man named Solomon just came to me (upwards of forty years of age) being left by my Grand-Mother, Mary Mifflin, to serve which of her Grand-children he pleased and by letter just received from my Father, Daniel Mifflin, one of the Executors in her Will named informing me, he the said Negroe Solomon made choice of me. I do also therefore hereby declare said Negroe Solomon Absolutely Free from me and my Heirs forever and do entitle him to all and every the privileges of the others on an At-

tempt to deprive him as afforesaid, and whereas I have heretofore Manumised and set free my Negroe man James, Negroe woman Meriah, and her children Lidia and Nany and also Negroe girl Melisa, which Manumission or Clearance I deposited in the Keeping of the Monthly Meeting of the People called Quakers of Duckcreek in this County which I apprehend will be admitted to record by direction of said Meeting together with this, Now we desire is that this being Produced or a copy hereof Certify'd by the Clerk for the time being to said Meeting or in case there should be no Monthly Meeting of and for Duckcreek, Certified copy from the Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting (of said People called Quakers) to which Duckcreek Monthly Meeting last belonged certifying that such record appeared, shall be adjudged, taken and accepted as full as I can enforce it, as if I were personally present and acknowledged the whole thereof, and such I desire that may have anything of the kind before them that they may particularly attend to and distribute justice impartially to the poor Negroes (and not wrest the meaning thereof) the consequence be to them that do otherways, my intention being to clear them from Slavery, to me, my Heirs, or Assigns forever,—believing Freedom to be their Natural and just right. To which I do hereunto set my hand and affix my Seal this Ninth Day of the First Month in

the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred
Seventy & Five, 1775.

(Sgd.) WARNER MIFFLIN (SEAL)

Sealed and acknowledged
in presence of us —

(Sgd) JOSEPH JENKINS

“ EDWARD COLE.

The Deed of Manumission made by Warner Mifflin Merchant of Kent County on Delaware on ninth day of first Month Seventeen hundred and seventy-five whereby he manumitted sixteen Slaves is recorded in Book of Manumissions according to direction of Duck Creek Meeting on pages 2 and 3.

There is an explanatory note on margin of page 3 regarding negro Man Solomon manumitted by said Deed as follows.—

The reason of my Grandmothers not freeing this negro herself was that she was informed she could not do it because of the Laws of Virginia where she lived, it being a concern to her for several years, but I believe was somewhat relieved with the prospect she had that it would be accomplished by her descendants; she therefore mentioned none of them in her Will except two men, allowing them to make choice of such of her Grand-Children they pleased; this one choosing me and the other my brother Daniel, were both immediately set to their Liberty, and likewise a woman and children before set at liberty in Maryland, confirmed by Will since all are freed by my Father, Daniel Mifflin.

The 3 following Manumissions¹ were executed by a Friend living within the confines of Virginia, in which Place there being no monthly Meeting of Friends settled to him contiguous, his Manumissions are therefore admitted to Record here as deemed a Member Resident of this Mo. Meeting.

To all whom this may come Know ye that I, Daniel Mifflin of Accomack County in the Colony of Virginia, Farmer, being convinced of the Iniquity and Injustice of retaining my Fellow Creatures in Bondage (it being contrary to the standing and perpetual Command enjoined by our blessed Lord to his followers, to do unto others as we would they should do by us) and also further believing that after such Manifestation and Conviction made known, the continuing in Violation thereof will incur his displeasure, and debar me from the Enjoyment of the Peace promised to his faithful Followers, and therefore believing it to be my Indispensable Duty, in Obedience to his Requiring and Command as afsd., to grant to them their natural, just and inherent right and Privilege, the Liberty of their Persons (which they are Intituled to by Nature) under the Consideration and Conviction afsd., I do hereby manumit and set absolutely free

¹ Book of Manumissions, p. 34.

from a State of Slavery and unnatural Bondage the following particularly named Negroes, to wit: James a young man nineteen years of age, Charity, woman born the 22d Day 7 Mo. 1758 and her child Hannah in the first Month 1775, the children of Negro woman named Sofiah, to wit, * Hannah, a girl born in the 2d Mo. 1763, Boy Ben born in the 4th Mo. 1766, Girl Rhoda in the Spring (born) of 1763; Girl Betty born in Spring 1769; Boy Fisher born Boy *Ned born Girl Peggy, born, the children of negro Woman Phebe, to wit, Boy Sam born the twenty-eight Day of 11th Mo. 1769; Boy Jacob born in the 10th Mo. 1771; and the child of Rachel negro woman, named Nanny born in the 3d Mo. 1775; the children of negro woman named Esther, to witt, Girl Rhoda born the 23d Day of 7th Mo. 1758; and Boy Ben born in the 12th Mo. 1760; the children of negro woman named Patience, to witt, Tabitha a girl born the 7th Day of 7th Mo. 1763; Girl Rebecca, born the 18th Day of 4th Mo. 1765, and has 14 sons and two daughters, Boy Jonathan born in the 12th Mo. 1769; Boy Abel born the 20th Day of 10th Mo. 1773; and Boy Stephen born the first Day of the first Month, 1775. The children of negro woman named Jude, to witt, Boy York born in the 5th Mo. 1760; Girl Esther born in the 12th Mo. 1769; Boy Moses born the 29th Day of the eight Month, 1772; Girl Leah born in the 10th Month 1774; the children of negro woman called Dublin-

Leah, to witt, Girl Betty born the 23d Day of the 7th Mo. 1765; Girl Patience born, Jude born in the 7th Mo. 1769; Girl Candis, born in the 7th month 1771; and Girl Rachel born; the children of negro woman named Peggy, to witt, Barbary, Girl born the nineteenth Day of the 4th Month, 1763; Girl Judith born the 8th Day of the 4th Mo. 1764; Boy Andrew born the 21st Day of 3d Month, 1766; Girl Peggy born in the first Month, 1763; Boy George born Boy Arthur born on or about the 27th of 12 Mo. 1772; and Boy Jacob born; the children of Negro, woman called Polly, to witt, Girl Dinah born in ye first Month, 1765. Boy Levin born in ye 7th Mo. 1770, and Boy Beniah born; the children of negro woman named Binah, to witt, Girl Nanny born the 10th Day of the 1st Month, 1756; Girl Comfort born the 5th Day of the 8th Month, 1762; Boy Daniel born the 13th Day of 4th Mo. 1760; Girl Scarborough born in the eight Month 1764; Boy Robert born the 19th of the 3d Month, 1766; Girl Sal born; Boy Littleton, born and Boy Abraham born on or about the 28th day of 12th Mo. 1770; the children of negro woman named Leah, to witt, Betty girl born the 1st Mo. 1760; Boy Abram born the 16th Day of 1st Mo. 1763; Girl Sabra, born the 1st Day of 7th Mo. 1765 and Boy Sampson born in the Spring, 1769 and Boy Isaac born; the children of

woman named Sarah, to witt, Boy Daniel born the; Girl Thamar born So that they shall from henceforth be deemed adjudged and taken and as, and for free people, that is to say, the male, to witt, Ben, Fisher, Ned, Sam, Jacob, Ben, Jonathan, Abel, Stephen, York, Moses, Andrew, George, Arthur, Jacob, Levin, Beniah, Daniel, Robert, Littleton, Abraham, Abram, Sampson, Isaac, Daniel, and James, when they arrive to the age of twenty-one years; and the female, to witt, Hannah, Rhoda, Betty, Peggy, Nanny, Rhoda, Charity, Hannah, Tabitha, Rebecca, Esther, Leah, Betty, Patience, Jude, Candis, Rachel, Barbara, Judith, Peggy, Dinah, Nanny, Comfort, Scarborough, Sal, Betty, Sabra, and Thamar when they arrive to the age of eighteen years; then to be at their own Disposal and at Liberty to act for themselves, and shall be deemed adjudged and taken as, and for free Men and Women without the Lett Hindrance or Molestation of me or any Person or Persons whatsoever, and to be at full and free Liberty to appear for themselves and each in their own proper names, as free Men and Women to vindicate their Liberty against any Person or Persons that may attempt to deprive them of the same And I do hereby also lay it as a charge on my children that none of them attempt by Colour of Right authorized by any unjust law, usage or Custom that may tolerate them in such attempt. to deprive them of their Liberty as aforesaid; my In-

tention being hereby to set them in the full enjoyment of Freedom believing it to be their just Right assigned them by the Supreme Creator of all, in common with the rest of Mankind: hereby also laying it as a charge on the consciences of the Courts or Jurys before whom this may be brought that they particularly attend to this Evidence in Favour of the poor Negroes equitable Liberty; and also to consider the Consequence when Day of final Reckoning overtakes them, if they wrongfully oppress their fellow-men.— In Witness whereof I do hereonto set my Hand and affix my Seal this eight Day of the fourth Month in the year of our Lord One thousand, seven hundred and seventy-five—1775 —————

DANIEL MIFFLIN. (SEAL)

Witness present hereonto:

WARNER MIFFLIN

BAPTIST LAY

WALKER MIFFLIN

I do hereby certify that I do fully approbate my Husband's executing the foregoing Manumission for the Freedom of the Negroes therein named. Witness my Hand:

ANN MIFFLIN.

The foregoing and following Manumissions were delivered into my possession by my Father, Daniel Mifflin in order to record which is now done and examined by—WARNER MIFFLIN.

Manumission 53. Slaves Manumitted 54. But as one, viz: Abram child of Leah, is already recorded as Manumitted by D. Mifflin. Jr. p. 31, this No. is 53.

Those marked with an Asterisk, thus (*), refer to Copy of Indenture (recorded Worcester County, Maryland). Page of this Book 39.

Manumission 54th.¹
Slaves Manumitted 38.

To all whom this may come Know Ye that I, Daniel Mifflin of Accomack County in the Colony of Virginia, Farmer, being fully convinced of the Iniquity and Injustice of detaining my fellow Creatures in Bondage (it being contrary to the standing and perpetual Command enjoined by our blessed Lord to his followers, to do unto, others as we would they should do unto us) and also further believing that after such Manifestation and Conviction made known, the continuing in open violation thereof will incur his Displeasure and prevent his Peace promised to his faithful Followers being handed fourth to me. Therefore believing it to be my indispensable Duty in Obedience to his Requirings and Commands as aforesaid, to grant unto them their natural and just and inherent Right and Privilege, which they entitled unto by Nature, under the Consideration and Conviction aforesaid, I do hereby declare all the Negroes hereafter particularly named absolutely free, to witt, Nanny, Jude,

¹ Deed of Manumissions Book, p. 37.

Hannah, Peter and Will antient Negroes; Binah, Ben, Jude, Esther, James, George and Charity judged at 50 years and upwards, Barbary, Moll, upwards of 40 years of age, Sarah, Peggy, James (called Kent) Ladock and George (called Stealphone) and Polly aged thirty years and upwards; Woman called Dublin Leah, aged about twenty-nine years; Rachael, Woman aged about thirty, Man Ned, Joshua, and Woman Phebe upwards of twenty-one, Ninrod, Man under thirty years of age; Jeoram a man aged near thirty-seven years; Thamar, a woman aged near thirty-five years; Leah woman aged upwards of thirty-two years; Patience woman aged upwards of thirty years; Jude, woman aged thirty years about, * Sophia woman aged near thirty years; Man called Gilbert aged twenty-eight years; Perry, a man aged upwards of twenty-five years; Lydia woman aged about twenty-four years; Man named John upwards of twenty-one years; Woman called Isabella aged about twenty years; woman named Sarah Daughter of negro Esther aged about nineteen years; so that henceforth they the aforesaid negroes, every and each of them shall be deemed, adjudged and taken as and for free Men and Woman to all Interests and Purposes without the Lett Hindrance or Molestation of me my heirs, Executors, or any other Person or Persons whatsoever; but that they be at their own Disposal and at Liberty to act for themselves as free Men and Woman and at full and free Liberty as free Men and Women each in

their own proper Names to vindicate their natural and just right, the Liberty of their Persons against any Person or Persons that may attempt to deprive them of the same in any Respect whatsoever. And I do hereby lay it as a charge on my Children that none of them attempt (by Colour of any unjust Law, Usage or Custom that may tolerate them in such attempt) to deprive them of their Liberty as aforesaid: my Intention being hereby to set them in the Enjoyment of their Freedom, believing it is their Right assigned them by the Supreme Creator of all, in common with the Rest of Mankind; hereby also laying it as a charge on the Consciences of the Courts or Jurys before whom this may be brought, that they particularly attend to this evidence in favour of the poor Negroes' equitable Liberty; and also to consider the Consequence, when a Day of final Reckoning overtakes them, if they wrongfully oppress their fellow Men. And further I do direct that the following named Negroes, having spent the Prime of their Time in my service, and I do hereby promise and engage for them, that they may be entituled to a Maintainance when needed from my Estate, to witt, Nanny, Binah, Ben, Jude, (Dublin) Jude, Hannah, Esther, Peter, Will, George, James, Charity, Moll, Barbary and Sarah

In Witness whereunto I have set my Hand and affixed my Seal this eight Day of the fourth Month

in the year of our Lord, One thousand, seven hundred and seventy-five—1775.

DANIEL MIFFLIN. (SEAL)

Witness present hereunto:

WARNER MIFFLIN.

BAPTIST LAY.

WALKER MIFFLIN.

I do hereby signify my full and entire approbation to my Husbands executing the foregoing Manumission for the freeing the Negroes therein particularly named.

Witness my Hand.

ANN MIFFLIN.

Record Examined.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

Copy of an Indenture ¹ made and executed by Daniel Mifflin Senior and Junior, for Freedom of Slaves according to an Act Of Assembly of Maryland, Recorded Court of Worcester and acknowledged before Nehemiah Holland.

N.B. The within named Girl Mary Blake Born in the 4th Mo. 1769 & Hannah Blake Born 4 Mo. 1771.

This Indenture made this sixteenth Day of January Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred and sev-

NOTE.—Those marked in this Manumission thus * refer to the Copy of Indenture, recorded Worcester Court Maryland, and Page of this Book 39.

¹ Deed of Manumission Book, p. 39.

Manumission
55.

Slaves manumitted 16 but 9 of them being included & numbered in the two foregoing Manumissions, this therefore is numbered 7 those marked thus (*) are the 9 alluded to.

¹Daniel Mifflin Senior in preceding Manumissions said to be of Accomack County, Virginia, here of Worcester County, Maryland, is because the Major Part of his Possessions are in Maryland, though he resident of Virginia.—Said Slaves also acquired and resided in Worcester.

enty six, between ¹Daniel Mifflin, Senior & Daniel Mifflin, Junior of ¹Worcester County of the one Part; and Negroes, Frank alias Frank Allen, * James called Lent, James & * Sophia his Wife with their children, to witt, * Hannah, * Ben, * Rhoda, * Betty, * Fisher, * Ned & * Peggy; and Betty Blake with her children, to witt, Susey Blake, John Blake, Comfort Blake born in ye 12 Mo. 1764, Mary Blake & Hannah Blake, they and every of them being under the age of fifty years, of the other Part, Witnesseth that the said Daniel Mifflin Senior and Daniel Mifflin Junior for and in consideration of the justice due them from us the faithful service of the above said Negroes and the good behaviour in general, and being desirous that the said Negroes should be manumitted and forever set free from Slavery, reserving to ourselves the Guardianship and Possession of the Youth until the male young ones arrive to the age of twenty-one and the female young ones arrive to the age of eighteen years, after which we have manumitted, set free and forever discharged & by these presents do manumit, set free and forever discharge the said Negroes and their Issue from the said Daniel Mifflin Senior and Daniel Mifflin Junior. Heirs and Assigns and the said Daniel Mifflin Senior & Junior do covenant and agree to and with the said Negroes and their Heirs, that they are by these presents forever manumitted and set free; and that We the said Daniel Mifflin Senior & Junior, our Heirs, Executors or Admin-

istrators hath not nor shall have any Right, Title, Interest, Claim, or Demand of, in or unto the said Negroes more than above reserved, or either of them or their or either of their Heirs. In Testimony whereof the said Daniel Mifflin Senior & Junior to these presents their Hands have put and Seals affixed the Day and Year above written or mentioned.

DANIEL MIFFLIN, SENR. (SEAL)

DANIEL MIFFLIN, JUNR. (SEAL)

Sealed and delivered
in the presence of us:

NEHEMIAH HOLLAND.

JOHN ALLEN.

Maryland Worcester County ss.¹

Be it Remembered that on the Day of the year within written came Daniel Mifflin, Senior & Junior before me the Subscriber, his Lordship's Justice of the Peace for Worcester County, and acknowledged the within writing to be their Act & Deed, and the Negroes therein mentioned and their issue to be forever manumitted and freed according to the Act of Assembly in such cases made and provided &c.

Acknowledged before NEHEMIAH HOLLAND.

Record Examined. . WARNER MIFFLIN.

¹ Deed of Manumissions, page 39.

I, Daniel Mifflin of Kent County on Delaware, Merchant, do hereby manumit and set absolutely free my negro Boy named Abram, born the 16th Day of the 1st Month, 1763; so that henceforth he shall be deemed adjudged and as, and for a free Person as fully as though he was free born, and to remain with me as an apprentice till he shall arrive to lawful age, viz. twenty-one years, then to be at his own disposal and at liberty to act for himself as a free Man without the Lett Hindrance or Molestation of Me or any Person or Persons claiming by, from or under Me forever. In Witness whereof I do hereonto set my Hand and affix my Seal this fourth Day of the seventh Month in the year of our Lord, One thousand, seven hundred and seventy-seven—1777—

DANIEL MIFFLIN. (SEAL)

Witness present to the
acknowledgment whereof——

WARNER MIFFLIN.

JOSEPH JENKINS.

Record, Examined, WARNER MIFFLIN.

Manumission 47th.

Slave manumitted 1.

¹ Book of Manumissions, page 31.

EXTRACTS FROM CECIL MONTHLY MEETING
RELATING TO JOSEPH WARNER.

7 mo. 1725. Joseph Warner came before this Meeting and requested a certificate to signify his clearness from all women here on ye account of marriage &c. In order thereunto ye Meeting appoints Geo. Dunkan and Saml. Smith to make Inspection as aforesaid, and also into his conversation and as they see Convenient, prepare a certificate for him to be directed to ye monthly meeting of friends in Talbot County, wch. certificate to be offered to ye consideration of ye next monthly meeting.

9 mo. 1725. The Reading & Signing of Joseph Warner's Certificate is Deferred till next Monthly Meeting.

10 mo. 1725. Joseph Warner's certificate was Read and Signed at this Meeting, according to the Reference of the Last Monthly Meeting.

1 mo. 1726. Joseph Warner and George Dunkan appointed to deal with James Kellee, (on account of his taking undue Liberties before Marriage) and to bring his answer to the next Monthly Meeting and to desire him to be there also.

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF JOSEPH AND
ANN (COALE) WARNER.

Whereas Joseph Warner of Kent County in the Province of Maryland and Ann Coale of Talbott County and Province aforesd. have Declared their Intentions of Marriage with each other before several Monthly Meetings of the People called Quakers in Talbott County affd. according to the Good Order used amongst them, whose Proceedings therein after Deliberate Consideration Thereof was approved by the said Meetings, they appearing clear of all others.

Now these are to Certifie all whom it May Concern that for the full accomplishment of their sd. Marriage this sixth day of the Eleventh Month, in the year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and twenty-five, they the Sd. Joseph Warner and Ann Coale appeared in a Publick Meeting of the aforesaid People for the Worship of Almighty God, at their Meeting House at Choptank in Talbott Co. aforesd. and the Sd. Joseph Warner taking the Sd. Ann Coale by the hand, did in Solemn Manner Publickly Declare that he took the Sd. Ann Coale to be his wife, Promising with the Lord's Assistance to be unto her a true and loving husband, untill it should Please the Lord by Death to Part them, and then and there in the Sd. assembly the Sd. Ann Coale Did in Like Manner Publickly Declare that she took the

Sd. Joseph Warner to be her husband, Promising with the Lord's Assistance to be unto him a loving and faithful wife, untill it should Please the Lord by Death to Separate them; and they the Sd. Joseph Warner and Ann Coale, She according to the Custom of Marriage assuming the name of her husband, as a further Confirmation thereof, Did then and there to these Prests Sett their hand, and wee whose names are hereunto subjoined being present at the Sollemnizing of the Sd. Marriage and Subscription have as witnesses here to these Presnts Sett our hand, the day and year above written.

JOSEPH WARNER

ANN WARNER

Rachel Harrison
Rebecca Dickinson
Susa Howell
Robert Dickinson, Jr.
Sary Webb, Jr.
Mary Webb
Magda Stephens
Hannah Dickenson
Eliza Troth, Jr.
Judith Dickenson
Sarah Webb
Sarah Powell
Peter Sharp
Henry Troth
Wm. Edmonson

Danl. Powel
Howel Powel
Phillip Kennard
Jno. Dickenson
Saml. Dickenson
Sollomon Edmonson
Solom Birkhead
John Garshick
John Stephens
John Powell
Wm. Sharp
Christo. Birkhead
Danl. Powell, Jr.
Walter Dickenson
Benj. Laurance

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF DANIEL AND MARY (WARNER) MIFFLIN.¹

Whereas Daniel Mifflin of Accomack County in the Colony of Virginia and Mary Warner of Kent Co. aforesaid, having Intention of taking each other in Marriage Declared their said Intentions before Severall Monthly Meetings of the People Called Quakers in Kent County aforesaid, Whose proceedings therein, after Deliberate Consideration and Consent of parents and parties thereby Concerned, were approved of by the said meetings: and for the full accomplishment of Said Marriage the said Daniel Mifflin and Mary Warner, on the 15th Day of the Ninth Month in the year 1744 appeared in a publick assembly of the said people and others in Cecil Meeting House, Kent Co. aforesaid, where after some time of solitidy and waiting upon the Lord the said Daniel Mifflin standing up, and haveing the said Mary Warner by the hand, Did openly Declare as follows: Friends, in the presence of God you are my witnesses that I take this my friend Mary Warner to be my wife, promising through God's assistance to be unto her a Loving and Faithful Husband, untill it shall please the Lord to separate us, (or in words to the same purpose) and then and there in like manner she, the said Mary Warner Did also openly Declare: friends, in the presence of God you are my witnesses

¹ From Minutes of Cecil Monthly Meeting.

that I take this my friend Daniel Mifflin to be my husband, promising through God's assistance to be unto him a Loving and Faithful Wife, until it shall please the Lord by Death to separate us, (or in words to the same purpose) and the Said Daniel Mifflin and Mary Warner (she according to the Custom of Marriage assuming the name of her husband) as a farther confirmation thereof Did then and there hereunto sett their hands, and we whose names are hereunto subscribed being present amongst others at the solemnizing their said Marriage and subscription aforesaid, as Witnesses have hereunto subscribed our names the Day and Year above written

DANIEL MIFFLIN

MARY WARNER

Thos. Bowers
Dowd. Thompson
Hannah Bodien
Hannah Bartlett
Mary Hosier
Margaret Rasin
Andrew Peirce
Jabez Jenkins
John Crew
Henry Trulock
Thos. Wilks
Michl Corse
Mary Corse
Isaac Corse
Mattarris
Nancy Dickinson
Rebecca Thomas
James Wilson
Mary Jones
Griffith Jones
Howel Buckinham
Sarah Kennard, Sr.
Phebe Needham

George Duncan
David Hull
Henry Bodien
George Wilson
Jacob Johns
Benj. Richardson
Morgan Brown, Jr.
Joshua Lamb
Ann Richardson
Thos. Richardson
Samuel Mifflin
Geo. Rasin
Joseph Warner
Mary Rasin
Wm. Rasin
Daniel Nock
Joseph Maxfield
Wm. Dickenson
Sarah Wilson
Elizabeth Stevens
Sarah Powell
Abraham Rasin

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF DANIEL AND
ANN (WALKER) MIFFLIN.¹

Whereas Daniel Mifflin of Accomack County in the Colony of Virginia, Farmer, and Ann Walker of the same place having declared their Intentions of Marriage with each other before several Monthly Meetings of the People called Quakers in Kent County in the Province of Pennsylvania, according to the good order used among them, whose proceedings therein after a deliberate consideration thereof and having Consents of Parents and Parties concerned nothing appearing to obstruct were approved of by the said Meetings. Now these are to certify whom it may concern that for the full accomplishing their said Intention this Seventeenth Day of the Tenth Month in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand, seven hundred and fifty-seven they the said Daniel Mifflin and Ann Walker appeared in a Public Meeting of the said People and others at Little Creek Meeting House in the aforesaid County, and the said Daniel taking the said Ann by the hand Did in a Solemn Manner Openly Declare that he took her to be his Wife Promising through Divine Assistance to be unto her a faithful and loving husband until the Lord is pleased by Death to separate them or words of like importance and then and there in the

¹ From Minutes of Duck Creek Meeting, page 109.

said Assembly the said Ann Did in like manner Declare that she took the said Daniel to be her Husband, Promising through the Lord's assistance to be unto him a faithful and loving Wife until the Lord is pleased by Death to separate them, and moreover the said Daniel and Ann, she according to the Custom of Marriage assuming the surname of her Husband, as a further confirmation thereof Did then and there to these Presents sett their hands and we whose names are hereunder subscribed being among others present at the solemnization of their said Marriage and subscription.

In manner aforesaid as Witnesses thereunto here also to these Presents set our hands the Day and Year above written.

DANIEL MIFFLIN,
ANN MIFFLIN.

Ezekiel Cowgill		
Timothy Hanson		
Samuel Spavold	Sarah Nock	
Benjamin Bavist	Ruth Wilson	
Isaac Howell	Hannah Jenkins	
Jonathan Ozburn	Elizabeth Daniel	Warner Mifflin
Samuel Hanson	Grace Fisher	Ezekiel Nock
Hezekiah Rowle	Sarah Clayton	Patience Wilson
Solomon Truett	Mary Hammon	Thos. Wilson
Finwick Fisher	Eunice Ozburn	Ralph Brock
Daniel Wilson	Jane Farson	Zecah Ferris
Thos. Lightfoot, Jr.	Sarah Nock, Jr.	William Farson

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF DANIEL
NEALL AND SARAH MIFFLIN.

WHEREAS DANIEL NEALL of the town of Milford in the County of Kent and State of Delaware, Son of Jonathan Neall, late of Kent County in the State aforesaid and Sarah his wife, deceased, and Sarah Mifflin, daughter of Warner Mifflin, late of the County and State aforesaid, and Elizabeth his wife, deceased, having declared their intentions of marriage with each other before a Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends held at Nurderkill, according to the order used among them their said proposal of marriage was allowed of by the said Meeting. Now these are to certify whom it may concern that for the full accomplishment of their said intentions this Twenty-first day of the Third month in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and ten they the said Daniel Neall and Sarah Mifflin appeared in a public meeting of the said people, held at Nurderkill aforesaid and the said Daniel Neall taking the said Sarah Mifflin by the hand did on this solemn occasion declare that he took her the said Sarah Mifflin to be his wife promising with divine assistance to be unto her a loving and faithful Husband until death should separate them, and then in the same assembly the said Sarah Mifflin did in like manner declare that she took him the said

Daniel Neall to be her Husband promising with divine assistance to be unto him a loving and faithful wife until death should separate them. And moreover they the said Daniel Neall and Sarah Mifflin (she according to the custom of marriage assuming the name of her Husband) did as a further confirmation thereof then and there to these presents, set their hands.

AND WE whose names are also hereunto subscribed being present at the solemnization of the said marriage and subscription, have as witnesses thereunto set our hands the day and year above written.

(Sgd.) DANIEL NEALL
 " SARAH M. NEALL

.....

Sarah Dolby
 Lydia Luff
 Ann Brady
 Susanah Edmondson
 Elizabeth Hardeastle
 Ezek. Hunn
 Signature indistinct
 Philip Hardeastle
 Michael Lowles
 James Hand
 Timy. Hanson
 Thomas Nock
 Sarah Clayton
 Nathaniel Coombe
 Signature indistinct
 Rachel Sharples
 Jonathan Jenkins
 Joseph G. Howland

John Dolby
 William Dolby
 Thomas Newlin
 Thomas Jenkins
 Batchelder Chance
 Edward Needles
 Isaiah Rowland
 Ruth Rowland
 Eliza Newlin
 John George
 Thomas Berry
 (?) Wainwright
 Rachael Atkinson
 Susan Dolby
 Elizabeth Needles
 Lydia Barratt
 Eliza Barratt
 Jonathan Neall

Mary H. Mifflin
 Clayton Cowgill
 John Cowgill, Jr.
 Eliza M. Rasin
 Lemuel Mifflin
 Ann H. Mifflin
 Ann Mifflin
 Saml. Mifflin
 Danl. Mifflin, Jr.
 Jona. W. Mifflin
 Warner Mifflin
 Sarah Ann Mifflin
 Debby Mifflin
 Ann George
 Elizabeth Howell
 Patience Hunn
 Jona. Hunn

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF DUCK CREEK, LITTLE CREEK AND MUR- THERKILL MEETINGS.

FROM MINUTES OF DUCK CREEK MEETING.

26th. 3 Mo. 1768.
Warner Mifflin
Complained
against.
(p. 206)

Murtherkill Preparative Meeting brought a complaint here against Warner Mifflin for accomplishing his marriage by the assistance of a Priest with one of the same profession, Wherefore Thomas Hanson and Thomas Willson are appointed to visit him on the occasion, and report their sense of the disposition they find him in to our next.

27th. 3 Mo. 1768.
Acknowledgment
offered.
(p. 210)

Warner Mifflin appeared here and offered a paper condemning his outgoing in Marriage which is left with friends for further consideration. Elizabeth the Wife of the above Warner Mifflin also appeared and offered a paper condemning her outgoing in Marriage which is likewise left under the consideration of friends.

24th. 6 Mo. 1769.
Acknowledgment
accepted.
(p. 216)

Warner Mifflin and Wife appeared here and their case being revived and considered and their acknowledgments read, are accepted as satisfaction as long as their future conduct shall correspond with the Rules of our Discipline. Jonathan Neal is appointed to publish them at the close of a first day's Meeting at Murtherkill they being present, and return them to our next.

FROM MINUTES OF MEETING AT LITTLE CREEK¹ 27TH OF
5TH MO. 1775. (P. 258.)

Murtherkill Preparative Meeting proposes Warner Mifflin and John Bowers as Elders for that Meeting. Jacob Janney and John Cowgill are therefore appointed to take an opportunity and treat with them and report their sense of their ability and qualifications for that weighty service to our next Meeting.

Warner Mifflin
proposed an
Elder.

FROM MINUTES OF MEETING AT DUCK CREEK 24TH OF 6
MO. 1775. (P. 260.)

The friends appointed to visit those proposed for Elders by Murtherkill Meeting report that they have done accordingly and give it as their sense that they (to witt) Warner Mifflin and John Bowers may be admitted to the station proposed with which this Meeting agrees and directs that a copy of this Minute be sent to the next Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders to be held at London Grove in Chester County for their Concurrence therein and they to attend the same.

Warner Mifflin
proposed Elder
concurred with.

FROM MINUTES OF MEETING HELD AT DUCK CREEK THE
22ND OF 6TH MONTH, 1776. (P. 269.)

The former Clerk of this Meeting (to witt) Finwick Fisher having expressed at this time as well as

¹ The first monthly meeting was held at Little Creek, 3 mo. 17, 1714, at Richard Richardson's. The last monthly meeting was held 6 mo. 13, 1864.

Warner Mifflin
appointed
Clerk.
22d 6 Mo. 1776.

heretofore advised of being released from that service which this Meeting taking under consideration (he having served in that Station a considerable time). It appearing to be the sense of said Meeting that a change in this respect may be an Improvement to Individuals as well as advantage to the Meeting in General agrees thereto and nominates and appoints Warner Mifflin in his stead as Clerk till further order, and also appoints John Dickinson as an assistant to said Clerk.

FROM MINUTES OF MEETING THE 22ND OF 3 MO. 1777.
(P. 278.—)

Warner Mifflin
appointed
to record
Deeds of
Manumission
22nd 3 Mo. 1777.

Warner Mifflin the present Clerk of this Meeting is appointed to record the Manumissions that has been or may be executed for the freedom of negroes or others that have been held in a state of slavery to be recorded in a Book for that purpose provided and to report when ready.

FROM MINUTES OF MONTHLY MEETING HELD AT DUCK
CREEK THE 26TH OF THE 4TH MONTH, 1777. (P. 278.)

Report of
Committee
Warner Mifflin
et al.
Case of Slaves,
26th of 4 Mo.
1777.

The Committee appointed in the case of slaves now report in writing as follows, (to witt)

We the Committee continued in the case of slaves have to report that we have not yet united in a general visit to them that hold them of late, yet may inform that we have been attentive to

some cases that have come before us, and now report that Jonathan Hunn with the consent and approbation of his Wife, Alexander McKay, with the consent of his Wife, whose names and circumstances of their cases were heretofore returned to this Meeting and entered on Minutes thereof all of whom have executed Manumissions for the discharging the whole of their Negroes from a State of Slavery, and Likewise that the freedom of eleven more have been secured since last Meeting and we have hope of continued openness that are yet behind in that respect.

FROM MINUTES OF DUCK CREEK MEETING HELD AT LITTLE CREEK 19TH OF THE 9TH MO. 1778. (P. 294.)

We the Committee appointed by Duck Creek Monthly Meeting to labour for the Spiritual and Temporal good of such Negroes as have been released from a state of slavery within the verge of said Meeting now report that after our appointment we all met together with the following named friends of the Quarters Committee in same case (viz.) Warner Mifflin, William Jackson, Junr., William Wilson, Isaac Jackson, Rebeckah Chambers, Esther Hoops, Ann Holiday, Philenia Lay, and Mary Seston and several opportunities being had, something so distressing attended the minds of friends that it was apparent that obstructions lay in our way of proceeding in the

Report of
Committee
Warner Mifflin
et al.
appointed to
visit Free
Negroes

service, and caused a narrow search in the minds of Friends for the cause and after Meeting several times in solid conference on the weight and importance of the subject, a general freedom appeared in the Committee to express wherein they apprehended they might in their conduct afford cause for the distress now felt and as most of this Committee who were Members of this Meeting had more or less been concerned in the Oppression of this People, some having many years back sold negroes that were yet living and in a state of slavery; some having released of them at an advanced age and made no Restitution; some by the conduct of Predecessors, holding Estates which appeared to have been in part gathered through oppression; and the great neglect of this People Christian and School Education Reviving with concern Friends minds were impressed with a sense that Justice had not enough been attended to; but as this freedom rose in the minds of the Committee to express themselves on those several Heads and their willingness yet to do Justice to this much Injured People, what in their power, way appeared to open with a degree of clearness to proceed to have Meetings with them; and accordingly we appointed Meetings for such as were contiguous at the Meeting Houses of Duck Creek, Little Creek, Murtherkill, Three Tuns and Cool Spring and agreeable thereto had a meeting with (as was supposed) about forty of them at Duck Creek on the third day of the 28th of

the fourth Month last, the day following at Little Creek with near seventy of them, the next day at Murtherkill where there were supposed to be an hundred; next day at Three Tuns with near forty; the day following at Cool Spring with upwards of twenty, after which John Cowgill, Ezekiel Cowgill and Elizabeth Bowman accompanied five of the Quarterly Meetings Committee down to the family of our Friend Daniel Mifflin in Virginia and appointed a Meeting at his House for such as he had released from a state of slavery and at the time appointed about fifty assembled, the day following being the day the said family holds a Meeting for Worship. The Blacks residing on this Friends mansion Plantation were generally collected; after proceeded to visit them at their several places of abode; which took us the time till seventh day after noon when they concluded to stay Meeting with the Family on first day, and the said negroes being generally acquainted thereof attended with some others that were in a state of slavery to amount of near One Hundred, together with a number of our said Friends, Neighbors who were slave holders where the nature of this errand (they believed was opened to advantage) and on their return homeward had an opportunity by the Roadside with two Negro men, set at Liberty by the aforesaid Friends who resided some considerable distance from him: During which time of sitting with the two last mentioned Negroes came up and sat with

them the Negro Master who expressed his satisfaction with their proceedings and acknowledged to the truths of which he heard delivered. Since which time a part of each Committee have united and had an opportunity with the few within the verge of Georges Creek Meeting.

And throughout it was satisfactory to observe them so cheerfully disposed to attend and appearing glad of Friends company and there were among them who appeared Solid in their countenances and to be exercised in spirit and we may say in a degree of Reverent thankfullness that we felt the extendings of Divine regard towards this People and ability was afforded us in a measure to open to them the way of life and Salvation and to explain to them the Fundamentals of the Christian faith and also to warn and caution them against pursuing a course of Vice and Immorality since which time our Friends, William Jackson, Rebeckah Chambers from drawings in a degree of Gospel Love have been concerned to visit those People within the verge of this Meeting in their respective families, in which service some of our number accompanied them (being those mostly of Duck Creek, Little Creek and Murtherkill) of which service we may have in the future more fully to report.

Signed on behalf of the Committee.

By, EZEKIEL COWGILL.

FROM MINUTES OF MEETING AT DUCK CREEK 22 OF 1ST
MO. 1780. (P. 312.)

Warner Mifflin informs that he hath some drawings in his mind to attend the Quarterly Meetings of Philadelphia and Chester some Monthly Meetings which may fall in his way as also to sit with the Committees for Reformation of some of said Meetings; with whose concern this meeting concurring the clerk is directed to furnish him with a transcript of this minute in order thereto.

Warner Mifflin's
concern
to visit
Philada. &
Chester.

FROM MINUTES OF MEETING AT LITTLE CREEK 28TH DAY
OF 10 MO. 1780. (P. 324.)

Our friend Warner Mifflin lays before this Meeting a concern he hath felt to accompany his mind to attend the next Quarterly Meeting of Bucks as also in prospect the Monthly Meetings which may fall in his way and the clerk directed to furnish him with a copy hereof.

Warner Mifflin
to attend
Quarterly
Meeting Bucks.

FROM MINUTES OF DUCK CREEK, 27TH OF 1ST MO.
1781. (P. 328.)

The case of Free Negroes being now considered and this Mtg. as before thinking a fresh nomination therein may be fruitful of advantage to the concern, dissolves the former Committee, and now appoints John and Ezekiel Cowgill, Israel and John Allston, Warner and Daniel Mifflin, Jabez Jenkins (Son of

Warner Mifflin
Daniel Mifflin
et al.
Committee
appointed in
case of Free
Negroes

Timothy) and Daniel Heaverlon, to take the same under their solid attention and care and proceed therein as best wisdom may direct.

FROM MINUTES OF MEETING AT LITTLE CREEK 24TH OF
3RD MO. 1781. (P. 332.)

Warner Mifflin
to visit
Long & Rhode
Islands.

Our friend Warner Mifflin having expressed at our last some Drawings in his Mind to attend the ensuing Yearly Meetings of Long and Rhode Islands and some Meetings of Discipline within their verges as also of the Jersies and other Services as his way might open thereto, in company with some friends in his Prospect having like concern, and he being now absent at the General Spring Meeting in Philadelphia, revives the same to this Meeting by a few lines left with a friend for that purpose informing us of the continuation thereof. Wherefore this Meeting on deliberate Consideration thereof concurs with him in his said concern and directs the clerk to furnish him with a copy of this Minute previous to his procedure thereunto.

FROM MINUTES OF MEETING AT DUCK CREEK 25TH DAY
OF YE 5TH MO. 1781. (P. 343.)

Warner Mifflin
returns
from visit
Eastward.

Our friend Warner Mifflin having now returned to us from his religious visit to friends eastward returns the Certificate given him on that occasion with two Indorsements thereon, viz. One from the Yearly

Meeting at Westbury for Long Island dated the 1st Day of the Sixth Month, 1781.—And one from the Quarterly Meeting held at Falmouth from ye 30th of the 6 Mo. till 1st of 7th Mo. 1781. As also four more separate Certificates, viz. —————

One from the Yearly Meeting at Smithfield for New England dated 13th of 6th Mo. 1781. One from the Monthly Meeting at Nantucket by Adjournment—ye 26th of 6th Mo. 1781. One from a Monthly Meeting held at Dartmouth in N. England ye 27th of 6 Mo. 1781. One from a Quarterly Meeting at Greenwich for Rhode Island ye 12th & 13th of 7 Mo. 1781. Each and every of the above Meetings except that of Long Island are within the verge of Smithfield Yearly Meeting for the Providence of New England. Which Certificates all set forth that his Labours of Love in the Discipline of the Church were satisfactory and acceptable, which affords Comfort to us.

FROM MINUTES OF MEETING AT DUCK CREEK 23RD OF
3 MO. 1782. (P. 357.)

Our esteemed Warner Mifflin laid before this Meeting a concern which he hath some time felt to accompany his mind to visit Friends at their ensuing Yearly Meeting in Virginia as also to attend some other Meetings & Services as way may open thereabout: which being considered, we have good Unity with him therein, he being an Elder in near esteem

Warner Mifflin's
concern
to visit
Virginia.

amongst us. The clerk is therefore directed to furnish him with a transcript of this Minute previous to his proceeding thereto.

FROM MINUTES OF MEETING AT LITTLE CREEK 27TH DAY
OF YE 7TH MO. 1782. (P. 360.)

Warner Mifflin
returns
from visit to
Virginia.

Our friend Warner Mifflin having fulfilled his Prospect in his visit to Virginia agreeable to a Minute of this Meeting given him on that occasion where-in he expresses he found Peace and Satisfaction in his own mind, now returns said Minute with an Indorsement thereon from the Yearly Meeting at Blackwater dated as there held from ye 18th to 21st of the 5th Mo. last which signifies their unity and good acceptance of his Company and Service which is satisfactory to us.

FROM MINUTES OF MEETING AT LITTLE CREEK 22D OF 7
MO. 1786. (P. 414.)

Elizabeth
Mifflin Wife of
Warner
Paper read
containing
some of her last
expressions.

A paper containing some of the expressions of our esteemed friend Elizabeth Mifflin dec'd during her last illness was read in this Meeting tending we trust to the reviving of the pure mind in us and an Incitement to a more diligent and faithful discharge of our several duties the further consideration of which is left with Ezekiel Cowgill, Robert Holliday and Joseph Jenkins who are to report of their sense whether its contents be sent to the Quarterly Meeting as our Memorial of her.

FROM MINUTES OF MEETING AT DUCK CREEK 28TH OF 4TH
MO. 1787. (P. 425.)

Our friend Warner Mifflin expressing to this Meeting that he hath felt drawings in his mind to attend the ensuing Yearly Meeting of Friends in Virginia if way open which this Meeting having Unity with leaves him at liberty to attend thereto he being an Elder in Good esteem among us and directs the Clerk to furnish him with a copy of this Minute.

Warner Mifflin's
concern
to visit
Virginia.

FROM MINUTES MEETING AT DUCK CREEK 25TH OF 8
MO. 1787. (P. 431.)

Our friend Warner Mifflin expressing to this Meeting as well as heretofore that he hath felt drawings in his mind to attend the ensuing Yearly Meeting of Friends in North Carolina and some other Meetings for Discipline as way may open to and from thence: there appearing a near sympathy in the minds of Friends and concurrence with him in his concern; Wherefore Ezekiel Cowgill, Joseph Jenkins and Samuel Howell are appointed to prepare a Certificate for him and produce it at our next.

Warner Mifflin's
concern
to visit
North Carolina.

FROM MINUTES MEETING AT LITTLE CREEK 22D OF 9TH
MO. 1787. (P. 432.)

A certificate is now produced for our friend Warner Mifflin as directed which being read is approved and signed by Isaiah Rowland clerk at this time and divers other friends.

Certificate to
Warner Mifflin
to visit
North Carolina.

FROM MINUTES MEETING AT LITTLE CREEK 22 OF 12TH
MO. 1787. (P. 435.)

Warner Mifflin
returns from
North Carolina.

Our friend Warner Mifflin now returns our Certificate heretofore given him on his concern to visit friends of the Yearly Meeting held at Center for North Carolina &c. with an indorsement from that Meeting expressing that his Company and Labours of Love in the several sittings thereof were truly acceptable. Also produced a minute from the Quarterly Meeting of Cane Creek belonging to the afore-said Yearly Meeting certifying their Unity and concurrence with his service therein which is satisfactory to this Meeting.

FROM MINUTES DUCK CREEK MEETING 22D OF 12 MO.
1787. (P. 436.)

Warner Mifflin's
concern
to visit Yearly
Meeting
in London.

Our friend Warner Mifflin now lays before this Meeting a religious Draught which hath for some time with weight attended his mind to visit our Brethren at their ensuing Yearly Meeting in London which being solidly deliberated on is left for more mature Consideration till our next.

FROM MINUTES DUCK CREEK 26TH OF 1ST MO. 1788.
(P. 437.)

do. do.

The concern of our friend Warner Mifflin being revived and weightly considered by this Meeting it appears to be the prevailing sense of friends that the

subject be yet left for further deliberation till our next.

FROM MINUTES OF LITTLE CREEK 23D OF THE 2D. MO.
1788. (P. 438.)

The concern of our friend Warner Mifflin coming again under our consideration it appears most easy to the minds of friends that it be yet continued for further consideration recommending a serious and weighty attention to the pointing of truth in his mind in the ripening up or the further procedure of his concern.

Warner Mifflin's
concern
to visit Yearly
Meeting
in London.

FROM MINUTES OF DUCK CREEK MEETING 26TH DAY OF
4TH MO. 1788. (P. 441.)

The concern of our friend Warner Mifflin again claiming the attention of this Meeting it is agreed to name John Cowgill, Robert Holliday, Ezekiel Cowgill, William Corbit, Israel Corbit, John Bowers and Baptis Lay to weightly consider and feel with the friend in his concern in the ability which may be afforded and report their sense and prospect thereof to our next.

do. do.

FROM MINUTES OF LITTLE CREEK MEETING, 24TH OF 5TH
MO. 1788. (P. 443.)

Four of the friends appointed in the concern of our friend Warner Mifflin report they have had a solid opportunity with him in which they feel unity in his

Warner Mifflin's
concern to
visit London.

prospect and concern, after weighty deliberation thereon, this meeting concurs with their report but as there appears some matters necessary to be done previous to his further procedure the same friends are continued to give the needful assistance therein and when accomplished are desired to report to this meeting.

FROM MINUTES OF LITTLE CREEK, 26TH OF 7 MO. 1788.
(P. 445.)

Warner Mifflin's
concern to
visit London.

The friends appointed in Warner Mifflin's case report that six of them have had an opportunity with him since our last but are not yet prepared to make a final report or produce a Certificate, they are therefore continued to pay the further needful attention thereto and desired to report when ready.

FROM MONTHLY MEETING OF WOMEN FRIENDS HELD AT
MURTHERRKILL 10TH OF 1ST MO. 1789. (P. 3.)

Anne Mifflin
(Wife of
Warner)
Certificate
from
Philadelphia.

Anne Mifflin Wife of Warner Mifflin produced a Certificate from the Monthly Meeting of Friends held in Philadelphia the 28th of the 11th Month, 1788, recommending her to our care which was read and received.

FROM RECORDS MURTKERKILN MONTHLY MEETING 9TH OF
4 MO. 1793.¹ (P. 84.)

Our friend Warner Mifflin now expressed that his mind hath been for some time past impressed with a religious concern to visit the Indian natives, at the treaty which is expected will be held by the United States with that People. And this concern increasing with such weight that he believed it most consistent with his peace of mind to spread it in this manner for our solid consideration; and if upon weighing the matter we can unite with his prospect so far as to concur therewith it will be strengthening to him. Upon mature deliberation Friends generally expressed their approbation and unity with his concern and John Bowers Isaiah Rowland and Jona Hann are appointed to prepare a certificate for him and produce it to our adjourned Meeting which is now agreed shall meet at the close of the meeting for Worship on First Day next.

Warner Mifflin's
concern to
visit Indians.

FIRST DAY NEXT, 4 MO. 14TH, 1793. (P. 85.)

An essay of a Certificate was now produced for Warner Mifflin as directed which being read and considered is approved and agreed to be signed by

Warner Mifflin
Certificate for
above stated
purpose.

¹ Motherkill Meeting was set off from Duck Creek in 1788. In 1828 the meeting for worship was discontinued. In 1830 the Monthly Meeting was joined to that of Duck Creek, and the name changed to Camden Monthly Meeting.—From Michener's "Retrospect of Early Quakerism," pp. 113-115.

Friends generally, who are present and handed to the Friend to proceed with in his freedom as truth may open the way according to good order.

FROM RECORDS MONTHLY MEETING, MURTKERKILN 13TH
OF 5 MO. 1794. (P. 100.)

Daniel
Mifflin, Jr.
Minutes
to attend
Yearly Meetings
New York &
Rhode Island.

Our friend Daniel Mifflin the younger opened in this Meeting a prospect which had for some time rested with him to accompany our esteemed friend John Simpson of Pennsylvania on a religious visit to New York and Rhode Island Yearly Meetings and as far as the concern of said friend may extend which being weightly considered was united with and he encouraged therein, this Meeting desiring his preservation under the weight of the concern, the clerk is directed to furnish him with a copy of this minute for that purpose.

FROM RECORDS OF MONTHLY MEETING AT MURTKERKILN
15 OF 7 MO. 1794. (P. 103.)

Daniel
Mifflin Jr.
returns from
above visit.

Our friend Daniel Mifflin the younger has now returned the Minutes given him in the 5th Month last, with two Indorsements, viz: One from the Yearly Meeting of Rhode Island, the other from the Yearly Meeting of New York, both expressing that his company was truly acceptable, and he also informed the Meeting that he had gone through the visit as Companion to John Simpson, as far as said

friend saw his way much to the satisfaction of his own mind.

MONTHLY MEETING AT MURTERKILL, 10TH DAY OF 5 MO.
1796. (P. 133.)

Our friend Warner Mifflin mentioned to this Meeting a concern which had for some time accompanied his mind to attend the approaching Yearly Meeting to be held at New York which being considered the Meeting unites in leaving him at liberty to proceed as way may open he being an Elder in good Esteem. The Clerk is directed to furnish him a copy of this Minute.

Warner Mifflin's concern to visit Yearly Meeting at New York.

FROM MINUTES MONTHLY MEETING AT MURTERKILL 11
OF 7TH, 1797. (P. 153.)

Our friend Warner Mifflin informed this Meeting of a prospect which he had of attending the next Quarterly Meeting at Phila., Abington, Chester and other Western Quarters which being considered he is left at liberty to proceed as way may open, being an Elder in Good Esteem the Clerk is directed to furnish him with a copy of this Minute.

Warner Mifflin's prospect and Minute to attend Quarterly Meeting at Phila., Abington and other Western Quarters.

FROM RECORDS OF MONTHLY MEETING AT MURTERKILL
12TH, 2 MO. 1799. (P. 182.)

The consideration of placing Daniel Mifflin in the Station of an Elder as proposed at our last, and a unity with the proposition being expressed he is ac-

Daniel Mifflin appointed Elder.

cordingly placed in that Station, and the Clk. is directed to furnish him with a copy of this Minute and sign it on behalf of this Meeting in order for his attendance at the Meeting of Ministers and Elders.

EXTRACTS FROM CERTIFICATE BOOK, MURTKERKILL MEETING.

- To Friends of Baltimore Monthly Meeting. (p. 17.) Certificate to
Signed in and on behalf of our Monthly Meeting Mary Mifflin to
of Murtherkill held the 13th of the 6th Mo. 1797. behalf of her
children Lydia,
Samuel and
Susanna
Husband.
(minors)
- JONATHAN HANN, Clerk.
PATIENCE HANN, Clerk.
- To Friends Baltimore Monthly Meeting. (p. 18.) Certificate to
Signed in and on behalf Murtherkill Monthly Mary Mifflin
Meeting the 11th of 7th Mo. 1797. (Minister)
- JONATHAN HANN, Clerk.
PATIENCE HANN, Clerk.
- To Monthly Meeting at Philada. (p. 27.) Certificate to
Moving to reside for some time in Philada. Anne Mifflin.
- Given 15 Day of 7 Mo. 1800.
- ISRAEL GORSE, Clerks.
EYRE MIFFLIN,
- To the Monthly Meeting of Philada. (p. 39.) Certificate to
Recommend Samuel Emlen and Lemuel, minor Samuel Emlen
childⁿ of Warner Mifflin deceased, who some time & Lemuel
since removed with their Mother to reside within minor children
of Warner
Mifflin dec'd.
- Signed &c. 12 Day of 2 Mo. 1807.
- THOS. BERRY, Clerk.

COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO VISIT HOWE AND WASHINGTON.¹

James Thornton on behalf of the Com^{ee} on the Epistles &c report that a weighty consideration hath been before them respecting some friends going by appointment of this Meeting on a visit to William Howe General of the British Army and to George Washington General of the American Army and to take with them the Testimony yesterday approved by this Meeting, in which visits or opportunities they are to endeavor to lay before said Generals or any of their Officers, or other People the Reason of publishing that testimony—And also further remonstrate on the behalf of our banished Friends, or proceed in other respects on behalf of Truth and our religious Society as best Wisdom may dictate, and make way for them.

The subject being now weightily attended to & the sentiments of many friends expressed in approbation of such a concern & visit the meeting nominates for this purpose William Brown, James Thornton, Nicholas Waln, Warner Mifflin, Joshua Morris & Samuel Emlen who are to make report to the meeting for Sufferings when they have performed the service.

¹ Records Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, 29th of 9th month to 4th day of 10th month, 1777, p. 382.

Nicholas Waln on behalf of the Committee informed the Meeting they considered the proposal of adding a further paragraph to the Epistle, but seemed most easy to omit it. This Meeting directs that 4000 copies of said Epistle or Testimony should be printed as soon as may be and in such manner as may be likely to best answer the end intended by it and 200 more to be printed in the German Language.

A testimony given forth from our Yearly Meeting held at Philada. for Pennsylvania & New Jersey by adjournments from the 29 of the 9th Mo to the 4th of the 10th Mo 1777:

A number of our Friends having been imprisoned and banished unheard from their families under a charge and Insinuation that "they have in their General Conduct and conversation evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America," and from some publications intimating "that there is a strong reason to apprehend that these persons maintain a correspondence highly prejudicial to the Public Safety," may induce a belief, that we have in our Conduct departed from the Peacable Principles which we profess, and apprehending, that the Minds of some may thereby be misled, for the clearing of Truth, we think it necessary, publickly to declare, that we are led out. of all wars & fightings by the Principle of Grace and Truth, in our own Minds, by which we are restrained

either as private Members of Society, or in any of our Meetings, from holding a correspondence with either Army, but are concerned to spread the Testimony of Truth, & the peaceable Doctrines of Christ, to seek the Good of all—to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and Man—to promote the Kingdom of the Messiah which we pray may come, and be experienced in Individuals, in Kingdoms & Nations that they may beat their swords into plowshares & their spears into Pruning Hooks, & nation not lift up sword against Nation, neither learn war any more.—Isaiah 2—4. And we deny in General Terms all charges & Insinuations which in any degree clash with this our Profession.

As to a nameless paper lately published said to be dated at Spank Town Yearly Meeting and found among the baggage on Staten Island, every Person who is acquainted with our stile may be convinced it was never wrote at any of our Meetings or by any of our Friends. Besides there is no Meeting throughout our whole Society of that Name nor was that letter or any one like it, ever wrote in any of our Meetings since we were a People. We therefore solemnly deny the said Letter & wish that those who have assumed a fictitious character to write under whether with a view to injure us, or cover themselves, might find it their place to clear us of this charge by stating the Truth.”

As from the knowledge we have of our banished

Friends and the best Information we have been able to obtain, we are convinced they have done nothing to forfeit their just right to Liberty, we fervently desire that all those who had any Hand in sending them into banishment might weightily consider the Tendency of their own Conduct and how contrary it is to the Doctrines & Example of our Lord & Law Giver Jesus Christ,—and do them that Justice which their case requires by restoring them to their afflicted families & friends. And this we are well assured will conduce more to their Peace than keeping them in exile—We give forth this admonition in the fear of God, not only with a view to the Relief of our Friends but also to the real Interest of those concerned in their Banishment.

Having been favored to meet to transact the affairs of our Religious Society, which relate to the Promotion of the cause of Truth & Righteousness we have felt a renewed concern for the Good & Happiness of Mankind in General, and in the Love of the Gospel have issued forth this Testimony for the clearing ourselves & our friends & the warning of those who have from groundless suspicions and mistaken notions concerning us, may be persuaded seek our Hurt, to the wounding their own souls & the Loss of the Community.

Signed by Order & on behalf of the Yearly Meeting.

ISAAC JACKSON, Clerk.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO VISIT HOWE AND WASHINGTON.¹

The Committee appointed last year to visit the Generals of the two contending armies made the following Report of their proceeding in and performing that service, which was read to our satisfaction:

We the Com^{ee} apptd by the last Yearly Meeting to visit the Generals of the two contending Armies on the second day of the week following our said Mtg proceeded to General Howes Head Quarters near Germantown, and had a seasonable opportunity of a conference with him and delivered him one of the Testimonies issued by the Yearly Meeting and then proceeded on our way to General Washington's camp, at which we arrived the next day without meeting with any interruption and being conducted to Head Quarters, where the principal officers were assembled in Council, after waiting some time we were admitted and had a very free opportunity of clearing the Society from some aspersions which had been invidiously raised against them and distributed a number of the testimonies amongst the officers, who received & read them & made no objections. We were much favored & mercifully helped with the seasoning Virtue of Truth &

¹ From Record of Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, 26th of 9th Mo., 1778, p. 414.

the presence of the Master was very sensibly felt who made way for us beyond expectation, it being a critical & dangerous season. We may further add that we were kindly entertained by Gen'l Washington & his officers but lest on our return we should be examined as to our intelligence we were desired to go to Pottsgrove for a few days within which time such alterations might take place as to render our return less exceptionable to them, where we accordingly sent under the guard or care of a single officer & hospitably entertained by Thomas Rutter a very kind man & other of our Friends; in this town we had some good service for truth. Two of the Committee were discharged on 6th day after noon, & the other four on seventh day, having been detained between three & four days. Two of the friends upon coming within the English Lines then near Vanderin's Mill were stopped and questioned respecting intelligence about the Americans, which they declining to give, they were sent under a Guard to the Hessian Colonel who commanded at that post, & he proposed several questions respecting the American Army, which the Friends declining to answer he grew very angry rough & uncivil, using some harsh reflecting language, & ordered a Guard to conduct them to the Hessian General Kniphausen, who appeared more friendly, but he not understanding the English Language sent them under the conduct of a light horseman or Trooper to General Howes Headquarters at

Germantown, but upon the two Friends informing one of his aid du Camps who they were they were dismissed without being further interrogated so that no kind of intelligence was obtained from them, nor any departure from the Language of the testimony they had delivered; we believe the Lords Hand was in it in guarding us from improper compliances & bringing us through this weighty service though it was a time of close humbling baptism.

As to the charge respecting the Intelligence said to have been given from Spank Town Yearly Meeting we believe Genl Washington & all the officers then present, being a pretty many, were fully satisfied as to friends clearness & we hope & believe thro' the Lords Blessing the opportunity we had was useful many ways there having been great openness & many observations upon various subjects to edification & tending to remove & clear up some prejudices which had been imbibed.

Saml Emlen Jr.
Joshua Morris
Warner Mifflin

Wm. Brown
James Thornton
Nicholas Waln

Phila 1st 10th Mo 1778

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REFORMATION.¹

At Monthly Meeting 24 day 1st Month 1778, Committee appointed to labour for Reformation report in writing as follows.

We the Committee appointed by this Meeting (together with Warner Mifflin of the Yearly Meeting Committee) to labour to carry forward a Reformation, now report that after the said appointment we all met, and taking into consideration the weight and importance of the service, and also apprehending that time called for Diligence herein, we found a concern to visit each other at our respective places of abode in order to strengthen another herein and remove such things amongst ourselves as might obstruct our way and be likely to retard our service, wherein we found satisfaction, and an open willingness prevailed amongst us to put away such things as we believed Truth's testimony was against, and in thus proceeding we were favored with unexpected openings respecting our service, and also finding our minds engaged to spread the concern of the body in this Respect, as generally as might be conveniently done; we have for that purpose attended all the meetings within the verge of this Monthly Meeting, and visited

¹ From Record Duck Creek Monthly Meeting, p. 287.

the Family of our friend Daniel Mifflin in Virginia, to a good degree of satisfaction to ourselves, and we believe some others, and we have likewise a comfortable hope that there is a remnant in most meetings concerned to unite in this great and necessary work; but on the other hand it appears lamentable that many remain lukewarm and indifferent even in the time they profess to meet in order for worship, as to a proper concern to perform this great & necessary duty, from which deficiency we believe in great measure has proceeded the slackness of discipline and the want of its being exercised in the wisdom & authority of Truth, whereby many remain unconcerned about this necessary and incumbent Duty, of meeting together for that purpose who ought to have stirred up to more diligence therein or a testimony gone forth against such disorderly members which appears to deserve attention; we hope to stand open to a further labor as we may feel our minds drawn being encouraged from a belief that the Master of our Assembly owns the work

Warner Mifflin
William Willson

John Bowers
Israel Allston
Isaiah Rowland

Susanna Cox
Elisabeth Cowgill
Jane Smith, Junior
Alicie Fisher

Which being read & approved the Committee directs the same to be entered on the minutes and this Committee continued for their service therein.

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS ON SLAVERY,
SIGNED BY 535 FRIENDS.¹

The following friends are appointed to wait on the Congress with the address of this Meeting now signing, viz: Warner Mifflin, Geo. Dillwyn, James Pemberton, Anthony Benezet, David Evans, David Cooper, Robert Kirkbride, Jno. Parrish, John Hoskins, Joseph West, Benj. Clark, Daniel Byrnes, Geo. Bowne, Eli Yarnall, Jacob Linley, who are desired to make Report to the Mtg. for Sufferrings of their performance of this service—which Meeting is desired carefully to attend to what may appear to them further necessary to promote the work in view:

TO THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

(The address of the People called Quakers.)

Being through the favor of divine Providence met as usual at this season in our Annual Assembly we find with great satisfaction our well meant endeavours for the Relief of an oppressed Part of our fellow men have been so far blessed that those of them who have been held in Bondage by Members of our religious society are generally restored to Freedom, their natural and just Right.

¹ Records of Yearly Meeting Friends at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania, New Jersey and western parts of Maryland and Virginia, from 29th of 9th Mo. to 4th day of 10th Mo., 1783. (p. 65.)

Commiserating the afflicted state into which the Inhabitants of Africa are very deeply involved by many professors of the mild & benign doctrines of the Gospel, and affected with a sincere concern for the essential good of our Country, we conceive it our indispensable duty to revive in your view the lamentable grievance of that oppressed people, as an interesting subject evidently claiming the serious attention of those who are entrusted with the powers of Government as Guardians of the Common Rights of Mankind & Advocates for Liberty.

We have long beheld with sorrow the complicated Evils produced by an unrighteous commerce which subjects many thousands of the human species to the deplorable state of Slavery.

The Restoration of Peace and Restraint to the Effusion of human Blood we are persuaded excite in the minds of many of all Christian Denominations Gratitude & Thankfulness to the all wise Controller of human events; but we have grounds to fear, that some forgetful of the days of distress are prompted by avaricious Motives to renew the Trade for Slaves to the African Coasts, contrary to every humane & righteous consideration & in opposition to the solemn Declarations often repeated, in favor of universal Liberty; thereby increasing the too general Torrent of Corruption and Licentiousness & laying a Foundation for future calamities.

We therefore earnestly solicit your Christian In-

terposition to discourage & prevent so obvious an Evil in such manner as under the Influence of divine Wisdom you shall see meet.

Signed in and on behalf of our Yearly Meeting held in Phila. for Penna., New Jersey & Delaware & the Western parts of Md. & Va. dated the 4th day of the 10th Mo. 1783 by 535 Friends

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS ON SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRAFFIC.¹

The consideration of the propriety of preparing an Address to the President of the United States coming before the Mtg. was solidly attended to and the proposal united with and the following friends are appointed to prepare an Essay accordingly to wit, George Churchman, James Cresson, Warner Mifflin, Benjamin Mason, Joseph Tatnel, Samuel Alison, James Pemberton, Nicholas Waln, Joshua Pusey, Henry Drinker, Samuel Emlen, Joseph West, William Savery, Joseph Potts, John Simson, Jacob Lindley, Thomas Morris, John Drinker, & Abraham Gibbons, who agree to meet this Evening at half past seven at the fourth Street Meeting House.

TO THE PRESIDENT, SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES

(The Address of the People called Quakers in their annual Assembly convened.)

Firmly believing that where oppression and violence is publickly advocated by those entrusted with National authority as Guardians of the Common rights of Humanity, however specious and spirited

¹ From Record of Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and the western parts of Maryland and Virginia, held in Philadelphia from the 28th day of the 9th Month, 1789, to 3d day of 10th Month, inclusive, p. 155.

their professions of attachment to the cause of Liberty and the general wellbeing of the People over whom they preside, the exercise of their power must be partial & unavailing to the important end & aim of their Trust; Unfeigned righteousness in public as well as private Stations is the only sure ground of Hope for the divine Blessing, whence alone Rulers can derive true Honour, establish sincere Confidence, in the Hearts of the People, and feeling their minds animated with the ennobling Principle of universal goodwill to Men, find a conscious Dignity and Felicity, in the Harmony and Success attending the exercise of a solid uniform Virtue, short of which the warmest pretensions to public spirit Zeal for our Country and the rights of Men, are fallacious and illusive.

Under this Persuasion of Professors of Faith in that ever-blessed all-perfect Lawgiver, whose Injunction remains of undiminished Obligation on all who profess to believe in him, "Whatsoever ye would that Men should do unto you do ye even so unto them." We apprehend ourselves religiously bound to request your serious Christian attention to the deeply interesting subject whereon our religious Society in their Annual Assembly in the 10th Mo. 1783 addressed the then Congress—who tho' the Christian rectitude of the Concern was by the Delegates generally acknowledged, yet not being vested with the Powers of Legislation, they declined pro-

moting any public remedy against the gross national Iniquity of trafficking in the Persons of Fellow Men, but divers of the legislative bodies of the different States on this Continent have since manifested their sense of the Public Detestation due to the licentious Wickedness of the African Trade for Slaves and the Inhuman Tyranny and Blood guiltiness inseparable from it; the debasing Influence whereof most certainly tends to lay waste the Virtue and of course the Happiness of the People.

Many are the enormities abhorrent to common humanity and common honesty, which under the Federal Countenance given to this abominable Commerce are practised in some of these United States, which we judge is not needful to particularize to a Body of Men chosen as eminently distinguishable for Wisdom and extensive information, but we find it indispensably incumbent on us as a religious Body, assuredly believing that both the true temporal Interest of Nations and external wellbeing of Individuals depend on doing justly, loving Mercy, and walking humbly before God, the Creator Preserver & Benefactor of Men, thus to attempt to excite your attention to the affecting subject, earnestly desiring that the infinite Father of Spirits may so enrich your minds with his Love & Truth, and so influence your understandings by that pure wisdom which is full of mercy and good Fruits, as that a sincere and impartial Enquiry may take place, whether it be not an

essential part of the Duty of your exalted Station, to exert upright endeavors to the full extent of your power, to remove every obstruction to public Righteousness which the influence and artifice of particular persons governed by the narrow mistaken views of self Interest has occasioned, and whether notwithstanding such seeming Impediment it be not in reality within your power to exercise Justice and Mercy, which if adhered to we cannot doubt must produce the abolition of the Slave Trade.

We consider the subject so essentially and extensively important as to warrant a Hope that the Liberty we now take will be understood, as it really is a compliance with a Sense of religious Duty, and that your Christian Endeavours to remove reproach from the land may be efficacious to sweeten the labour & lessen the difficulties incident to the discharge of your important Trust.

Signed in & on behalf of our Yearly Meeting for Penna. &c, this 3rd day of 10th Mo 1789.

NICHOLAS WALN

Clerk to the Meeting this year

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(The address of the religious Society called Quakers from their Yearly Meeting for Penna &c.)

Being met in this our Annual Assembly for the promotion of universal Righteousness, our Minds well ordering the affairs of our religious Society and

have been drawn to consider that the Almighty who ruleth in Heaven and in the Kingdoms of Men, having permitted a great Revolution to take place in the Government of this Country, we are fervently concerned that the Rulers of the People may be favored with the Counsel of God, the only sure means of enabling them to fulfill the important trust committed to their charge, and in an especial manner that Divine Wisdom and Grace vouchsafed from above may qualify thee to fill up the Duties of the exalted Station to which thou art appointed.

We are sensible thou hast obtained great place in the esteem & affections of the People of all Denominations over whom thou presideth and many eminent talents being Committed to thy trust we much desire they may be fully devoted to the Lords Honor and Service, that thus thou mayst be an Happy Instrument in his Hand for the suppression of Vice, Infidelity and Irreligion and every species of oppression on the Persons or Consciencs of Men, so that Righteousness & peace which truly exalt a Nation may prevail throughout the land, as the only solid Foundation that can be laid for the Prosperity and Happiness of this or any Country.—

The free Toleration which the Citizens of these States enjoy in the Public Worship of the Almighty agreeable to the dictates of their Consciencies, we esteem among the choicest of Blessings, and as we desire to be filled with fervent charity for those who

differ from us in Matters of Faith and Practice, believing that the General Assembly of Saints is composed of the Sincere and upright hearted of all Nations Kingdoms and People, so we trust we may justly claim it from others, and in a full persuasion that the divine Principle we profess leads into Harmony and Concord we can take no Part in carrying on War on any occasion or under any Power, but are bound in Conscience to lead quiet & peaceable lives in Godliness and Honesty amongst Men, contributing freely our proportion to the Indigencies of the Poor and to the necessary support of Civil Government, acknowledging those who rule well to be worthy of "double Honour" & if any professing with us are or have been of a contrary Disposition and Conduct we own them not therein having never been chargeable from our first establishment as a religious Society with fomenting or countenancing Tumults or Conspiracies or Disrespect to those who are placed in Authority over us.

We wish not improperly to intrude on thy Time or Patience, nor is it our practice to offer adulation to any, but as we are a People whose Principles & Conduct have been misrepresented and traduced, we take the liberty to assure thee that we feel our Hearts affectionately drawn towards thee and those in authority over us, with Prayers that thy Presidency may under the Blessings of Heaven be happy to thyself & to the People, that thro' the increase of

Morality and True Religion Divine Providence may condescend to look down upon our Land with a propitious Eye, and bless the Inhabitants with the Continuance of Peace, the Dew of Heaven, and the fatness of the Earth, and enable us gratefully to acknowledge his Manifold mercies; and it is our earnest Concern that he may be pleased to grant the every necessary qualification to fill up thy weighty and important Station to his Glory, so that finally when all Terrestrial Honors shall fail and pass away thou and thy respectable Consort may be found worthy to receive a Crown of unfading Righteousness in the Mansions of Peace and Joy forever.

Signed in & on behalf of our said Mtg held in Phila by adjournment from the 28 day of 9 Mo to the 3 of 10 Mo. incl. 1789.

NICHOLAS WALN

Clerk to the Meeting this year.

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS ON EXEMPTION FROM MILITARY DUTY.¹

28 day 9 Mo 1790.

That part of the proposed Militia Law which offers exemption to such persons as conscientiously refuse to serve in the Militia, upon Condition that they pay the sum of Two Dollars Yearly towards defraying the expences of Civil Government, coming under solid & deliberate consideration, it appears to be the united sense & judgment of this Meeting that no friends can pay such Fine or Tax consistent with our Religious Testimony and Principle, it being a Fine in lieu of Personal Service—the following Friends are appointed to take the same and other parts of the said proposed Law into consideration & to prepare an address to the General Congress on the occasion & to produce the essay to this Meeting, to wit—Abraham Gibbons, James Pemberton, John Evans, Eli Yarnall, William Savery, Joseph Potts, George Churchman, Owen Biddle, Mark Miller, Benjamin Mason, Warner Mifflin, John Cox.

The Friends under appointment to prepare an address and Memorial to the General Congress on the subject of the proposed Militia Law, produced an

¹ From Records of Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania, &c., held at Philadelphia by adjournment from 27th day of 9th Mo. to the 2d day of 10th Mo., inclusive. (p. 180.)

Essay accordingly, which having been several times read & also considered by paragraphs is with a small alteration concurred with, and the Clerk is desired to sign it on behalf of the Meeting & the care of presenting it is recommended to the Meeting for Sufferings, it being as follows:

To The
President Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States in
Congress Assembled.

The address & memorial of the People called Quakers convened at their Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania New Jersey Delaware & the Eastern parts of Maryland & Virginia held in Philada. by adjournments from the 27th day of the 9th Mo. to the 2 of 10 Mo. 1790 inclusive.

Through the continued favor of Divine Providence being once more permitted to assemble for the purpose of preserving circumspection of Life and decent order throughout our religious Society, and as far as Infinite Wisdom may be pleased to qualify us, to promote an increase of Gospel Righteousness and peace in the Earth—In the course of our weighty Deliberations we have been informed that a Bill is published by direction of the House of Representatives that the public Sentiment may be obtained on the subject entitled—

“ A Bill more effectually to provide for the Na-

tional defence by establishing an uniform Militia throughout the United States," in which altho' we perceive in some parts thereof appear intended for the relief of such who are conscientiously scrupulous of taking any part in War, yet we apprehend it our Duty to remark that if enacted into a Law will materially affect us, and our fellow members in general in the free exercise of conscience, as in Section sixteen, where it enacts that every person of the age of eighteen years and under fifty years who are exempted from personal service in the Militia by the Second Section of the said act (except all Ministers of Religion actually having charge of a Church or Congregation, all Principals, Professors and other Teachers of, together with the students in Universities, Colleges and Academies, all School Masters actually having charge of a School and all Mariners employed in the sea service of any Citizen or Merchant with the United States as aforesaid) shall pay an Annual tax of Two Dollars into the public Treasury of the United States to be applied towards the support of the Civil Government thereof, &c.

Although we cannot but gratefully acknowledge our obligation to the divine Author and Source of every Mercy and Blessing that he hath so illuminated the understandings of Men and disposed the Minds of the Rulers of this Land as to allow that degree of Freedom in Matters of Conscience which is already Enjoyed, yet duty to Almighty God revealed in the

consciences of Men and confirmed by the scriptures of the Old and New Testament is an invariable rule which should govern their judgments and actions, he being the only Lord & Sovereign of Conscience, as by him all Men are finally to be judged.

By Conscience we mean that apprehension & persuasion a man has of his duty to God, & the Liberty of Conscience we plead for is a free and open profession and unmolested exercise of that Duty, Such a Conscience as keeps within the bounds of Morality in all the affairs of human Life and requires us to live soberly, righteously & godly in the World, on which depend the Peace, safety & happiness of religious and Civil Society, and it must be allowed on serious Reflection that every deviation from such religious duty essentially disqualifies for that Adoration and Worship which is incumbent on all Men to perform to the Supreme Being from whose Bounty all our Blessings are derived, and every restraint imposed or attempted by human Laws on the free Exercise thereof is not only an Infringement on the just rights of Men, but also an Invasion of the Prerogatives of Almighty God.

Under these considerations we apprehend that we may reasonably solicit an exemption from being subjected to Sufferings on account of our conscientious Scruples, but at the same time we may assure you many of us are more solicitous to promote the prevalence of the Dominion and Government of the Prince

of peace, than to escape the sufferings we may undergo by the operation of such a Law, firmly believing that all Revenge Animosity Strife and Contention are utterly forbidden by Christ our Lord, as appears by his own Declaration—Mat. V. 38 viz: “Ye have heard that it has been said, An Eye for an Eye and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you ye resist not Evil.” &c. And Mat. V. 43-4-5. “Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy Neighbor and hate thine Enemy, but I say unto you love your Enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven, for he maketh his Sun to rise on the Evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just & on the unjust.”

Convinced of the necessity of a strict adherence to these and numerous other divine precepts to the same effect, as well as to the peaceful spirit of the Gospel, our religious Society have not only uniformly declined joining personally in War, but have also considered themselves conscientiously bound to refuse the payment of any Sum required in Lieu of such personal Service or in Consideration of an Exemption from any Military Employment, however laudable the purposes are to which the money is intended to be applied, as it manifestly infringes on the right of conscience.

With fervent Desires that you may be favoured to discern the true Interests of the People and be qualified to judge with a righteous Precision in what relates to the important concerns of Conscience, that the advancement of the glorious Gospel Day prophetically declared may not be retarded, when Mankind shall no longer view each other with an indignant eye of malevolence, but cordially embrace as Brethren, and Nation shall not lift up Sword against Nation neither learn War any more.

We are respectfully,

Your Sincere Friends

Signed in and on behalf of the said

Yearly Meeting by

NICHOLAS WALN

clerk to the Meeting this year.

A
S E R I O U S
E X P O S T U L A T I O N
with the
M e m b e r s
of the
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
of the
UNITED STATES.
P h i l a d e l p h i a :
Printed in the Year
M,DCC,XCIII.

In the American Daily Advertiser, and other public papers, are inserted Debates of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 28th of November last, some speeches or animadversions of two or three of the southern delegates, on the presentation of what is there stiled "a paper purporting to be a memorial respecting the abolition of slavery, which in the opinion of the said delegates, and divers others, was declared to be an application unconstitutional, and of mischievous consequences, as it would only tend to render the Negroe unhappy, and excite them to insurrections in those states where they were most necessary to be retained; and that even the publication of a *fanatical memorial* in the news-papers,

might have a fatal effect in disturbing the present excellent harmony of the union; for the people of the southern states may be led thereby to suppose, that this memorial is before Congress and will be discussed during the present session, it is therefore the more necessary to undeceive them, by publishing the contrary, and by expunging the entry from the journals."

Having believed it my religious duty to address that memorial to Congress, and that in so doing, I was really influenced by the Catholic principle of universal good-will to men, and sincerely desirous of promoting that *excellent harmony and union*, which is founded on the solid basis of impartial liberty and common right, I may acknowledge it is far from being a matter of indifference to me to find, in the above-cited publication, so little regard paid to this great fundamental of the public weal, by men chosen and entrusted to fill a station so very important, who ought and may be supposed, on a subject of so interesting and extensive concernment, to speak their real sentiments, unbiassed by any sinister purpose; I have been therefore led I trust, by the same disinterested and Christian motive, which induced me to make the application in question, to enter into a close self-examination and reconsideration of the tenor of my said memorial, lest through an unguarded warmth of zeal, I might have given occasion to those not well-affected to that divine precept and perfect rule of

universal equity, enjoined by the highest authority, *whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them*¹—to stamp the righteous and liberal aim and design of my memorial, with the opprobrious stigma of *fanaticism*; and as far as I have been capable of an impartial scrutiny, I do not find anything therein contained more justly meriting so invidious a censure, than what may be found in divers publications of Congress on the same subject; some of which I have thought proper to select and bring into view, beginning with the following remarkable language of the association entered into the 20th of October, 1774.

“And therefore we do for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several colonies whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of our country, as follows:

2d Article. “We will neither import nor purchase any slaves imported after the first day of December next, after which time we will wholly discontinue the Slave Trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.”²

5th Article. “And will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipa-

¹ Matt. vii., 31.

² Did not Virginia and Maryland consider this to be perpetual, by their Assemblies passing laws accordingly?

tion, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shews, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments."

(TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE COLONIES.)

"In every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or of one state to another, duty to Almighty God, the Creator of all, requires, that a true and impartial judgment be formed of the measures leading to such opposition; and of the causes by which it has been provoked, or ran in any degree be justified, that neither affection on the one hand, nor resentment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong bias to reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of all circumstances, and to settle the public conduct on the solid foundations of wisdom and justice. From counsels thus tempered arise the purest hopes of the divine favor, and the firmest encouragement to the parties engaged, and the strongest recommendations of their cause to the rest of mankind, etc."

(ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF CANADA, MAY 29, 1775.)

"When hardy attempts are made to deprive men of rights bestowed by the Almighty, when avenues are cut through the most solemn compacts for the admission of despotism."

(DECLARATION JULY 6, 1775, OF THE CAUSES AND NECESSITY
OF TAKING UP ARMS.)

"If it were possible for men who exercise their reason to believe, that the Divine Author of our exist-

ence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and unbounded power over others, marked out by infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistable, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain, some evidence that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body.¹

“But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity and the dictates of common sense must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The Legislature of Great Britain however stimulated by an inordinate passion for power, &c.”

(2D. ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, JULY 8TH, 1775.)

“Britains can never become the instruments of oppression ’till they lose the spirit of freedom.”

(ADDRESS TO IRELAND, JULY 28, 1775.)

“Compelled to behold thousands of our countrymen imprisoned, and men, women, and children involved in promiscuous and unremitted misery, when we find all faith at an end, and sacred treaties turned into tricks of state; when we perceive our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames.”

¹ So may the Africans say.

(AND IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IS INSERTED
RESPECTING THE KING AS FOLLOWS:)

“He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy of the head of a civilized nation. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us.”

And here I think it may be proper to mention, that under permission of Divine Providence, the measure which both Britains and Americans had long dealt to the natives of Africa, they were in like manner suffered reciprocally to mete out to each other, by burning towns, &c., captivating their inhabitants, stowing them into gaols and prison ships, to linger under agonizing pains unto cruel death; at this stage of affairs Congress resolve at different times on public fasting and prayers, wherein they acknowledge the superintendence of an all wise Providence, and the obligations our nation was under, to reform from its sins and implore his merciful interposition, to remove those calamities from the land, and avert those desolating judgments with which we were threatened. See Journal June 12, 1775, and March 16, 1776.

In a pamphlet, entitled, “Observations on the American Revolution,” published by order of Con-

gress in 1779, the following sentiments are declared to the world, viz:

“The great principle (of government) is and ever will remain in force, *that men are by nature free*; as accountable to him that made them, they must be so; and so long as we have any idea of Divine Justice, we must associate that of human freedom. Whether men can part with their liberty, is among the questions which have exercised the ablest writers; but it is concluded on all hands, that the right to be free can never be alienated—still less is it practicable for one generation to mortgage the privileges of another.”

After the laborious productions of the wisdom of this country, manifested to the world by the declarations and addresses from which the foregoing are extracted, with others of a similar nature, demonstrating the natural rights of men in so clear a manner, the following appears to have been adopted as the then faith of the nation, in the declaration of independence the 4th of July 1776, viz:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

At the time of entering into the solemn league and covenant (20th October 1774) to vindicate the rights of man, and promote national righteousness, had any one declared as their opinion that it was of mischiev-

ous consequence, tending to render unhappy the helpless victims of despotic tyranny, and excite to insurrection, or attempted to enforce as a political creed, so detestable a position, as that a happy *national harmony and union* depended on securing to one class of men, the power and privilege of enslaving and exercising an imperious lordship over another part of God's rational creation, such person, though he might not have been stigmatized as a fanatic—would doubtless have been in danger of being proscribed as an enemy to his country, and a traitor to the common cause of equal liberty: now feeling such a weight on my spirit, I am thereby impelled, by a sense of duty to the Sovereign of the Universe, and the dictates of humanity, to open my mouth for the dumb, in the cause of such as are appointed to destruction; and if this is fanaticism, enthusiasm, &c. may the Almighty grant a double portion to what I ever experienced, if it be his holy will. I cannot use the carnal sword in my country's defence, I believe that weapon for a Christian to be unlawful, yet I trust I shall with the weapons that are to me lawful in the cause of my country, manifest as much firmness and stability, though it be in the exercise of one talent, as those who think themselves justified in the use of other and greater talents: and therefore, as I do indeed feel alarmed, when I consider that the solemn professions so lately made in time of extremity and danger, and held up as the national faith, should so soon on this

important occasion seem to be regarded as mere *tricks of state*, what can be thought will be the issue? May it not be considered like trifling with omnipotence?

I crave your patience, my fellow citizens—I am interested in the welfare of this country; but I cannot have any conception that this nation will long fare well, when after such declamations against Britain on account of the despotic measures pursued by her administration, the spirit of tyranny and oppression is suffered so readily to prevail in the councils of American rulers, to a degree in no instance exceeded by Britain; on which head I venture to appeal to the witness for God in your own breasts, which will undoubtedly show the national iniquity is the same, whether it proceed from Acts of Convention, or receive its strength from the countenance of Congress.

Had Congress done as much towards removing this national guilt, as by the tenor of their own vote they have power to do, there is no doubt with me, but that it would at least have given a very powerful check, if not a total stop to the odious traffic, notwithstanding the plea of restriction in the constitution of the general government: but whether you will hear or forbear, I think it my duty to tell you plainly, that I believe the blood of the slain, and the oppression exercised in Africa, promoted by Americans, and in this country also, will stick to the skirts of every in-

dividual of your body, who exercise the powers of Legislation, and do not exert their talents to clear themselves of this abomination, when they shall be arraigned before the tremendous bar of the judgment-seat of him who will not fail to do right, in rendering unto every man his due; even him who early declared, "at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man"; before whom the natural black skin of the body will never occasion such degradation. I desire to approach you with proper and due respect, in the temper of a Christian, and the firmness of a veteran American Freeman, to plead the cause of injured innocence, and open my mouth for my oppressed brethren, who cannot open theirs for themselves. I ask no pecuniary advantage for myself, neither post or pension. I feel the sweets of American Liberty—I trust I am sensible of and thankful for the favor; and am not easy to partake of mine so partially, and see, hear and know of my brethren and fellow mortals being so arbitrarily and cruelly deprived of theirs, and not enter my protest. I desire to have this favor and blessing continued to myself and posterity, and cannot but view the tenure, both to myself and countrymen, as very precarious, while a plea is founded on the general constitution, in bar of the rights of man; and the equal distribution of justice being confirmed, that the views of a righteous government would be, to promote the welfare of mankind universally, as well those of other nations,

as the subjects or citizens of its own; and therefore, that it is obligatory on the United States, to prevent the citizens thereof injuring the inhabitants of Africa, as those of one state the citizens of another: and I doubt not in the least, if Africa was in a situation to send fleets and armies here to retaliate, but Congress would soon devise ways, without violating the Constitution, to prevent our citizens from aggravating them. The almost daily accounts I have of the inhumanity perpetrated in these states on this race of men, distresses me night and day, and brings the subject of the Slave Trade with more pressure on my spirit; and I believe I feel a measure of the same obligation that the Prophet did when he was ordered to cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins. And here I think I can shew, that our nation are revolting from the law of God, the law of reason and humanity, and the just principles of government; and with rapid strides establishing tyranny and oppression; to prove which, I need do no more than oppose the present conduct of the nation, to that part of it which I have now brought to your view, from the former journals of Congress, and then mention the sanction the African Slave Trade at this time has from the general government; in proof of which I may refer to the condition

on which Congress accepted the cession of the Western Territory of North Carolina, viz: *That no regulation made or to be made shall tend to emancipate slaves.*

I am concerned that the leaders of the people may not cause them to err, or strengthen them in error; the plea now is by state Legislators, as well as other classes of citizens, and even those abandoned dealers in the persons of men, that Congress authorizes the traffic as I myself now believe you virtually do.

If your disapprobation of this trade as a body was publicly known to be sincere, I believe it would have a good effect; and if you are so it is my judgment the people has a right to know and expect it from you. I am persuaded, nine tenths of the citizens of the United States reprobate the African Trade, and consider every slave imported an injury to the public; and that they repose confidence in your wisdom as guardians of the nation, to prevent its injury; and that herein you betray the trust reposed in you, which is indeed a great and weighty trust, even to do that which of right ought to be done by the nation; therefore it requires on this very important subject your deep and serious consideration, what you can do so as to obtain the favor of Divine Providence to that land, which I do indeed believe will be marked with something very different, if such an inhuman traffic is continued.

Humane petitions have been presented, to excite in Congress benevolent feelings for the sufferings of our fellow citizens under cruel bondage to Turks and Algerines, and that the national power and influence might be exerted for their relief; with this virtuous application I unite, but lament that any of my countrymen, who are distinguished as men eminently qualified for public station, should be so enslaved by illiberal prejudice, as to treat with contempt a like solicitude for another class of men still more grievously oppressed.

I profess freely, and am willing my profession was known over the world, that I feel the calls of humanity as strong towards an African in America, as to an American in Algiers, both being my brethren; especially as I am informed the Algerine treats his slave with more humanity; and I believe the sin of oppression on the part of the American is greatest in the sight of the father of the family of mankind.

I hope some will excuse my inserting, in this apologetic expostulation, a few texts of scripture as they revive—I trust there are some of our rulers yet believe in the authenticity of the holy scriptures; what revives now, is the declaration of our Lord, Matt. 25 chap. and 41 verse. Then shall he say also to them on the left hand, depart from me ye cursed, &c. They also shall answer him, saying—When saw

we thee an hungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? His answer then you may read,—Inasmuch as you did it not to the least of these, ye did it not to me.

That I may not be thought to trespass on your patience on this momentous subject, after repeating my special request, that you would without delay exert your power and influence to frustrate the avaricious purpose of those mercenaries, who are perhaps now on their voyage from Liverpool to Africa, to bring to some of the Southern states cargoes of innocent human beings into cruel, unconditional bondage; the grounds I have for this apprehension are, I believe, not unknown to some among you. I will draw towards a conclusion, with a quotation from the address of Congress to the Assembly of Jamaica, dated 26th of July 1775.

“We receive uncommon pleasure from observing the principles of our righteous opposition distinguished by your approbation: we feel the warmest gratitude for your pathetic mediation in our behalf with the crown—but are you to blame? mournful experience tells us, that petitions are often rejected, while the sentiments and conduct of the petitioners entitled what they offer to a happier fate.”

That wisdom from above may be mercifully vouchsafed to direct the councils of America, that this extensive and rising republic may be exalted by right-

eousness, and not overturned by pride, oppression, and forgetfulness of the rightful Ruler and Dread of Nations, is the prayer of an enthusiast in a pure and uncorrupted sense, and who am both yours individually and my country's real friend,

WARNER MIFFLIN.

Kent County, State of Delaware,
21st of the 1st Month, 1793.

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS ON SLAVERY.¹

The continued extension of a benevolent christian care towards that degraded & injured class of mankind, the black people, is afresh urged as matter of duty worthy to be deeply felt after, not only in our Meetings for Sufferings especially, but also by our Brethren in Profession at large, that opportunities for exercise of Justice & Charity, as fit occasion presents, may not be overlooked. And as the minutes of our Meeting for Sufferings exhibit an effecting view of the enormous injustice & cruelty inflicted in some of the Southern States on free persons of the African Race, it is believed seasonable that a suitable remonstrance to the General Government will consist with the cause of truth and Righteousness for the promotion thereof we are met; the following friends are therefore named to give weighty attention thereto and prepare for the consideration of the Meeting what they may judge proper on the occasion viz:— John Parrish, Nicholas Waln, Warner Mifflin, John Drinker, Samuel Troth, Thomas Morris, John Simpson, Henry Drinker, George Churchman, Jacob Lindley, Mark Miller.

The Committee named to prepare an Essay of an Address to the General Legislature having produced

¹ From Minutes Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Philadelphia by adjournment from 25th day of the 9th Mo. to the 29th of the same, inclusive, 1797. (p. 349.)

the same, it was read & after deliberately attending to its contents, the concurrence of the Meeting being expressed, it is directed to be transcribed and signed by the clerk, and the following friends are desired carefully to attend to the most suitable opportunity for presenting it, viz:

Nicholas Wain, David Bacon, Jacob Lindley, John Hoskins, Warner Mifflin, Abraham Gibbons, John Parrish, Henry Drinker, Jonathan Evans, Mark Miller, Thomas Morris, Thomas Stewardson, Oliver Paxson, Richard Hartshorne, John Hunt.—The Address being as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the
United States in Congress assembled.

The Memorial & Address of the People called
Quakers from their Yearly Meeting held in Phila
by adjournments from the 25 of the 9 Mo to the 29
of the same inclusive 1797

Respectfully sheweth

That being convened at this our Annual Solemnity for the promotion of the cause of Truth & Righteousness, we have been favored to experience religious weight to attend our minds & an anxious desire to follow after those things which make for peace, among other investigations the oppressed state of our Brethren of the African Race has been brought into view, and particularly the circumstances of one hun-

dred & thirty four in North Carolina, and many others whose cases have not so fully come to our knowledge who were set free by members of our religious Society and again reduced into cruel bondage under the authority of existing or retrospective laws, Husbands & Wives & Children separated one from another which we apprehend to be an abominable Tragedy; and with other acts of a similiar nature practiced in other States has the tendency to bring down the judgments of a righteous God upon our Land

This City and neighborhood and some other parts have been visited with an awful calamity which ought to excite an inquiry into the Cause, and endeavors to do away with those things which occasion the heavy clouds that hang over us—It is easy with the Almighty to bring down the loftiness of Men by diversified judgments and to make them hear the Rod and Him that hath appointed it.

We wish to revive in your view the solemn engagement of Congress made in the year 1774 as follows viz:

And therefore we do for ourselves and the Inhabitants of the several Colonies whom we represent firmly agree & associate under the sacred ties of Virtue Honour and love of our Country as follows:

2nd Article. We will neither import nor purchase any Slaves imported after the first day of December next, after which time we will wholly discontinue the

Slave Trade and will neither be concerned in it ourselves nor will we hire our vessels nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

Sth Article. And will discountenance & discourage every species of extravagance. & dissipation especially all horse-racing and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shews plays & other expensive diversions & entertainments.

This was a solemn League & covenant made with the Almighty in an hour of distress and he is now calling upon you to perform & fulfill it, but how has this solemn covenant been contravened by the wrongs & cruelties practiced upon the poor African race—the increase of dissipation & luxury, the countenance & Encouragement given to playhouses & other vain amusements & how grossly is the Almighty affronted on the day of the celebration of Independence. What rioting & drunkenness, chambering & wantonness, to the great grief of sober inhabitants & the disgrace of our National character.

National Evils produce National judgments. We therefore fervently pray the Governor of the Universe may enlighten your understandings & influence your minds so as to Engage you to use every exertion in your power to have these things redressed.

With sincere desires for your happiness here & hereafter & that when you come to close this life you may individually be able to appeal as a ruler did for-

merly, "Remember now O Lord I beseech Thee how have I walked before Thee in Truth & with a perfect heart and have done that which is good in thy sight." We remain your friends and fellow citizens

Signed in & on behalf of the said Meeting by

JONATHAN EVANS

Clerk to the Meeting this year

FROM MINUTES YEARLY MEETING HELD IN PHILA 24 OF
9 MO. 1798 (P 369)

The Friends named last year to present the Address of this Meeting to the General Legislature of the United States mentioned their having performed the service and had therein a good degree of satisfaction

WILL OF ANNE EYRE.

In the name of God, Amen.

I, Anne Eyre, of ye county of Northampton in Virginia, being sick in body, butt in perfect sense and memory, bless be God for it, do make this my last Will and Testimony, in manner and for me as followeth, that is to say, First my desire is that all my just debts bee paid.

I give and bequeath unto my Granddaughter Anne Nock my negro girle Lidda and her increase to be delivered to her at lawful aige.

I give unto my Granddaughter Anne Mifflin my negro girle Hannah and all her increase to be delivered to her at lawful aige.

I give and bequeath unto my Grandson Thomas Eyre, my negro girle Sarah, and her increase to be delivered to him at lawful aige.

I give and bequeath unto my Granddaughter Sarah Nock, my negro girle Esther, with her increase to be delivered to her at lawful aige.

I give and bequeath unto my Grandson Ezekiel Nock my girle Betty with her increase to be delivered to him at lawful aige.

I give and bequeath to my daughter Mary Mifflin my negro girle Judah with her increase forever.

I give and bequeath unto my Grandson Daniel

Nock, my negro girle Mary with her increase to be delivered to him at lawful aige.

I give and bequeath to my daughter Mary Mifflin, my negro woman Jenny with all her children, I give them to her and her heirs forever.

I give and bequeath to my son Daniel Eyre, my negro man Daniel and my negro woman Betty with their increase.

I give to my daughter Mary Mifflin ye best bed, best bowlster and quilt that I have, and my chest of drawers, and my riding horse.

I give to my Granddaughter Anne Nock one silke rugg, one paire of steeles and two pillo cases.

I give unto my son Daniel Eyre ye second best bedd, bowlster and a hammock.

I give unto my grandchildren, viz., Anne Nock, Anne Mifflin, Patience Nock and Thomas Nock all my powder to be equally divided amongst them.

I give unto my son Daniel Eyre all my tools, viz., Carpenter, Cooper, and Shewmaker.

My desire is that my neger Sambow, may have his liberty to goe to which of my childer hee pleases.

I give unto my daughter Sarah Nock, my young horse and draggen horse.

I give unto John Mills two hundred pounds of tobacco.

I give unto my daughter Mary Mifflin my mear Spark and Bonny, Yearlin Mear.

I give to Teague, Dear, all that he owes me pr. acot.

I give to my Granddaughter Anne Nock my redd trunke and ye chist that the Pewther is in.

I give all ye remainder of my chists and trunks to be equally divided among my three childer.

I give unto my daughter Sarah Nock, the bedd that I now lye on.

I give to my Granddaughter Anne Nock a new large bedd tick and bowlster with forty pounds of new fethers.

I give to my son Daniel Eyre ye remainder of my fethers that is out of bedds.

My will and desire is that all that is herein given be to them and their heirs forever.

I give to my Grandson John Mifflin thirty pounds current silver money of Virginia.

I give to my daughter Sarah Nock thirty pounds current silver, money of Virginia.

My will and desire is that all ye remainder of my estate of what naiture or kind soever may bee equally divided amongst my three childer Sarah, Mary, and Daniel.

My will and desire is that my estate may not bee appraist. I make and appoint my sons, Daniel Eyre, Thomas Nock and Edward Mifflin to be joint executors of this my last will and testimony. In testimony

whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this
15th day of May 1720.

Sealed and delivered in ye presence of us,

SAMUEL BURTON

THOMAS FITCHELL

his

JOHN I. M. MORINE

mark

signed—her A mark

ANNE EYRE

Probated 14 February 172½; Vol. 1718-1725 page
146. Northampton Co., Virginia Records.

WILL OF EDWARD MIFFLIN.

Accomack, the 7th O'br., 1740.

I, Edward Mifflin, of Accomack County in Virginia, considering Mortality and that its appointed for man once to die, and being at this time of a sound and disposing mind and memory, do make, constitute and ordain this to be my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking and annulling all former wills by me made. Desiring that this only be taken for my True Last Will, in manner and form following:—

Imprimis. I give and bequeath unto my son, Daniel Mifflin, and his heirs forever my tract of land whereon I now live, lying on the mouth of Swans Gut Creek, with my Water Mill and Plantation in Maryland.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son, Samuel Mifflin, and his heirs forever my plantation and tract of land situate in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia near Schoolcill whereon my father, John Mifflin, lived, containing two hundred and seventy acres.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son, Sothey Mifflin, and his heirs forever, my house and lot, lying and being in the High Street in Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, situate near the great Meeting House. Whereas there is a dispute with my brothers' and sisters' children about part of my above given Plantation near Philadelphia which if they recover their

claims I desire that my son, Samuel Mifflin, may have two hundred Pound in lieu of what they recover.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my Granddaughter, Ann Eyre, a young negro woman.

Item. I give and bequeath all of my estate amongst my wife and three sons to be equally divided among them.

Item. My desire is that my beloved wife, Mary Mifflin, may have her natural life on Plantation whereon I now live and likewise that she may have my Water Mill and Plantation in Maryland during her life and also desire she may have the profits of my house at Philadelphia and of my Plantation situate on Schoolkill with the appurtenances thereto belonging until my two sons, Samuel & Sothey, come to the age of twenty years. I also give to my well-beloved wife my use money. I desire that my son, Daniel Mifflin, may have his liberty to declare his bequests, and take either of his brothers bequests and if he chooses either of theirs that he chooses from may have his.

Item. My will and desire is that my estate be brought to no appraisement.

Item. I desire that my estate may not be divided till my son, Daniel Mifflin, comes of age at 21 years.

Lastly I ordain and appoint my son Daniel Mifflin and Joseph Maxfield with my beloved wife Mary Mifflin my sole executors and Executrix of this my last

Will and Testament, in witness thereof I have set my hand and seal.

EDWARD MIFFLIN.

Signed, sealed and delivered
in the presence of

JOSEPH MAXFIELD.

JOHN WALTON.

JACOB HEIL.

WILLIAM GORE.

At a court held 31st May, 1743, the above last will,
etc., etc.; (here follows the probate.)

EXTRACT FROM WILL OF MARY MIFFLIN.¹

Mary Mifflin mentions her son's (Samuel Mifflin's) two children, Edward and Mary Mifflin, and her grandsons, Warner and Daniel Mifflin, and great-grandson, Daniel Nock, son of James Nock. She gave Warner Mifflin, her grandson, 220 lbs. current money of Va., and her grandson, Daniel Mifflin, 122 lbs. current money of Va. Her great-granddaughter, Mary Mifflin, the daughter of Southey Mifflin, received a legacy. She gave a legacy to the Monthly Meeting at Little Creek, Kent Co., Del.; a small legacy was left to her great-grandson, Charles Mifflin, the son of George Mifflin; also to Ann Robertson, a small legacy; also to Stephen Maxfield and Susannah Beary (Berry) 20s. each to buy a ring. She also gave Mary Mifflin, the daughter of Warner, a second small legacy; also to Susannah Nelson a Cow and Calf. Son Daniel and grandson Warner Mifflin, Executors.

¹ Dated June 18th, 1772. Probated March 25th, 1775. Vol. 1772 to 1777, page 312, Wills, Accomac County, Va., Records.

DEED

This Indenture, made the fourth day of the first month, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and eighty nine, between Daniel Mifflin of Accomac County of Virginia and Mary, his wife, Warner Mifflin of Kent County on Delaware and Anne, his wife, all of the one part, and John Wethred of New Castle County of the Delaware State, of the other part. Whereas it appears that five hundred acres or thereabouts, part of a large tract of twelve hundred acres, formerly granted unto a certain Charles James, called Drayton, did by divers ways and means become the property of Joseph Warner, formerly of Kent County in Maryland, who being so possessed, died having only one child (his heiress) named Mary Warner, who died on the twenty-eighth day of October Anno Domini, one thousand seven hundred and thirty seven, obtain a warrant to resurvey her said part of said tract called "Drayton," and include the surplusage lands, and add what vacancy should lay contiguous thereto, by virtue whereof the farm was resurveyed and found to contain six hundred and two acres, and agreeable thereto confirmed to the said Mary by patent dated November ye seventh, Anno Domini, seventeen hundred and forty-one, as by the farm reference thereunto had may appear and whereas the said Mary Warner did inter-

marry with the above named Daniel Mifflin, by whom she left issue the above named Warner Mifflin, her eldest son and heir at law: and whereas it is hereby intended to grant and convey unto the said John Wethred, a certain peice or parcel of the aforesaid resurvey called "Warner's part of Drayton," including a grist and saw mill with some other small improvements adjoining thereto a part of which hath also been heretofore claimed by the said Daniel Mifflin as his own property, by virtue of a purchase by him made from George Rasin, by Deed dated April 22, 1753, and being now found within the bounds of the said Warner's part of Drayton, which is solely the property of the said Warner Mifflin, the said Daniel and Anne, his wife, to prevent any future disputes and contentions that might arise respecting the proper right and title thereto, have herein joined with the said Warner Mifflin and Anne, his wife, to convey the said part unto the said John Wethred and to his heirs forever, which is bounded and limited as follows, viz:—beginning at a stone by the stump of a white oak Cornor, south side of the edge of Chum Creek (below the mill) the corner also of a part of the said tract conveyed by the said Warner Mifflin and his former wife, to the aforesaid John Wethred, thence with a line thereof south-west five perches to the run or stream of said Chum Creek, thence south fifty one degrees, east thirty-eight perches to the south side of the mill-pond to the Bank or Hill at the

southern end of the mill-dam with liberty to take dirt from said Hill and accommodate the dam out of said Hill forever. Thence up the side of the pond binding with the edge thereof as follows, viz:—south sixty-two degrees, east ten perches, south fifty-two degrees, east six perches, south five degrees, west seven perches, south sixty-seven degrees, east seven perches, north-east five perches, south twenty-six degrees, east twenty-four and a half perches, south-east eighteen perches, south six perches to the outside line of the whole tract, then with the said line or part thereof reversing south forty-seven and one half degrees, east two perches and six-tenths of a perch, then south eighty-six degrees, east thirty-nine perches, north-east thirteen perches to the north side binding with the said part conveyed to John Wethred by the said Warner Mifflin, down the mill pond still adjoining the aforesaid land sold; now uniting the whole together unto the beginning containing sixteen acres and one hundred and thirty square perches of land and mill pond.

Now this Indenture witnesseth that the said Daniel Mifflin and Anne his wife, Warner Mifflin and Anne his wife, for and in consideration of the just and full sum of four hundred pounds good and lawful money (being specie) to them in hand paid by the said John ———, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged by the said Daniel Mifflin and Anne, his wife, and Warner Mifflin and Anne, his wife, and them-

selves, therewith fully satisfied, contented and paid, have granted, bargained, sold, released, entitled and confirmed, and do by these presents grant, bargain, sell, confirm unto him, the said John ———, his heirs and assigns forever, all the above described tract, piece or part of Drayton, together with the mills and other appurtenances thereunto belonging, with all and singular the buildings, improvements, waters, water courses and writings and appurtenances and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders unto ——— and profits thereof, and all the estate, title, interest, property, claim and demand of them, the said Daniel Mifflin and Anne his wife and Warner Mifflin and Anne his wife, in law, equity or otherwise whatsoever of in and to the saw mill and land and pond with every other the appurtenance to the same belonging.

To have and to hold the said land and premises, together with the said mills with every other the appurtenances to the farm belonging hereby granted unto the said John Wethred and his heirs and assigns forever. And the said Daniel Mifflin and Anne his wife, and Warner Mifflin and Anne his wife, and their heirs, the land and premises together with the said mill and other appurtenances hereby granted unto the said John Wethred as if against themselves, the said Daniel Mifflin and Anne his wife, and Warner Mifflin and Anne his wife, and their heirs, and against all and every person or persons claiming or

hereafter lawfully to claim from or under them or either of them, shall and will warrant and forever defend by these presents.

This Deed is now given, made over and executed in consequence of a Bond given to John Wethred and John Buchanan by Warner Mifflin for the aforesaid property, which Bond John Wethred has made his own property by taking assignment from Buckannan and paying the full considerations, money; said Bond bore date of thirty-first day of August seventeen hundred and seventy.

In witness whereof they, the said Daniel Mifflin and Mary his wife, Warner Mifflin and Anne his wife, have hereunto set their hands and fixed their seals the year and day first above written. Be it known that the words Warner Mifflin of Kent County on Delaware and Anne his wife all was wrote before the first line, and sixty was interlined between the twelfth and thirteenth line of this Deed before it was executed.

DANIEL MIFFLIN

WARNER MIFFLIN

MARY MIFFLIN

ANNE MIFFLIN

Sealed and delivered in

the presence of;

JOHN SELBY

OUTLIS STURGIS

Received of the above named John Wethred the sum of four hundred pounds specie, being the con-

sideration money above mentioned. Witness our hands the day and year first above mentioned.

WARNER MIFFLIN

Witness Present—JOHN SELBY

OUTLIS STURGIS

Maryland, St. Be it remembered that on the day and year first within written, personally appeared before me the subscriber two of the State Justices of the Peace for Worcester County, the within named Daniel Mifflin and Warner Mifflin, at the same time came Mary Mifflin, wife of the said Daniel and Anne Mifflin wife of the said Warner Mifflin, and they each of them being severally examined privately and apart and out of the hearing of their said husbands, agreeable to an act of Assembly in that case made and provided: and they and each of them acknowledged the lands and premise contained in the within deed to be the right and title of the within named John Wethered and his heirs and assigns forever, agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the within deed and according to law.

Before JOHN SELBY

OUTLIS STURGIS.

In the State of Maryland,
Worcester County, to wit:—

I hereby certify that John Selby and Outlis Sturgis, gentlemen before whom the foregoing deed was

acknowledged was at the time of acknowledging the same and still are two of the justices of the peace assigned to keep in and for the county of, hereby commissioned and sworn and as such due faith and credit ought to be given to all certificates by them given as well as in Court of Justice as thereont.

In testimony whereof, I have hereto set my hand and affixed the seal of my office the 3rd day of May, Anno Domini, 1790.

JAM R. MORRIS, Ck. Cur. Court—Wor.

May the fifth day Anno Domini Seventeen hundred and ninety.

Then was delivered unto me, the subscriber, the foregoing deed in order to be enrolled among the records of Worcester County, which said deed together with the acknowledgment thereof, receipt and certificate to thereon endorsed, are accordingly recorded in Liber N, folio 254; 255; 256; and 257.

JAM R. MORRIS, Ck.

WILL OF DANIEL MIFFLIN.

I, Daniel Mifflin, of the County of Accomack, in the State of Virginia, being sick and weak of body but of sound and disposing mind and memory, do make and ordain this my Last Will and Testament, hereby revoking and making void all former wills by me made.

Imprimis. It is my will that all my just debts should first be honestly paid.

Item. Inasmuch as I have heretofore sold unto Levin Hickman thirty acres of land on Assateague beach as hereafter described, and he having paid me for the same and got neither Bond nor Deed of Conveyance therefore, wherefore to supply said deficiencies I give and bequeath unto the said Levin Hickman the aforesaid thirty acres of land, it being part of a large tract of land which I bought of Thomas Gore beginning at John Lewises Line, and binding with the same to the sand Hills, thence to run so far down said Island between the sand Hills and Assateague Inlet High Water Mark as with a direct line drawn across the Island to the sand hills will include the said thirty acres of land, to him his heirs and assigns forever.

Item. In like manner as above, I have sold unto John Lewis and Arthur Cherix eighty acres of land from the same tract as above, and they having in part

paid me the same and have got neither deed nor bond of Conveyance therefore, wherefore I give and bequeath unto the said John Lewis and Arthur Cherix eighty acres of land as aforesaid, being part of the same tract. I bought of Thomas Gore, reserving to myself fifty-three acres binding on Levin Hickman's land noted as above, and to run down to the Island between the sand hills and the Inlet High Water Mark so far as to include the aforesaid fifty three acres, after reserving to myself all the cedar timber that may be on the same, I give and bequeath unto the said John Lewis and Arthur Cherix, their heirs and assigns forever, provided they pay to my executors hereafter to be named the balance due me for said eighty acres, as may appear in an article between us for the same.

Item. In like manner as above, I have sold unto John Blades one hundred and fifty acres of land as surveyed by Samuel Smith, surveyor, and the man with him, and marked out, which said one hundred and fifty acres he has paid me for and got neither deed or bond of Conveyance, wherefore I give and bequeath unto the said John Blades the one hundred and fifty five acres of aforesaid, being part of two tracts of land called Floyds Lot, the other Mifflin's Purchase, situate in Pitt's Creek Hundred in Worcester County, State of Maryland, to him, his heirs and assigns forever.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Warner

Mifflin the sum of five shillings, which together with what he has already had I consider his full proportion of my estate.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Daniel Mifflin, the sum of two hundred pounds, which together with what he already has had I consider his full proportion, which said two hundred pounds is finally to settle all accounts between us if any there be.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my grandson, Jonathan Walker Mifflin, the sum of one hundred pounds to be paid him when he arrives at lawful age by my executors, upon this express condition, however, that he convey to his aunts a right to take a sufficiency of dirt from time to time as may be sufficient to support that part of the dam of my lower mill upon Swans gut adjoining his lands, and that he also continue to them the right of joining that part of the dam to his land aforesaid. But if he should die before he arrives at lawful age and without lawful issue, the hundred pounds so left to him is to be divided equally among my grandchildren then living. Inasmuch as I find it difficult to ascertain with truth how much the amount of my estate may be, I cannot with certainty or perhaps equity say what my wife's dower shall be, but leave it with my executors and herself to agree upon the same, hoping that both may be governed by reason and justice, which said dower so ascertained and agreed on as aforesaid, I bequeath unto my beloved wife during her

natural life, and at her death, my will is that said dower equally upon or to my daughters Patience Hunn, Elizabeth Howell, Eyre Mifflin and Rebecca Mifflin, and my granddaughter Anne Hunn. I give and bequeath unto my daughters Patience Hunn, Elizth Howell, Eyre Mifflin and Rebecca Mifflin, and my granddaughter Anne Hunn equally, the whole of the remainder and unmentioned part of both my real and personal estate. Those to whom I have given part heretofore, viz: Patience Hunn, Elizth Howell and Anne Hunn, what I have given to her mother Mary Hunn, accounting strictly for the same, and to be added to what is now given them in common and equal division made, my granddaughter Anne Hunn's dividend or part not to be considered her property until she arrives at lawful age, and if she should die before she arrives at lawful age as aforesaid or without lawful issue, what I have left her I will and bequeath to be divided equally among all my grandchildren then living. It is my desire and I do enjoin it on all my children, and grandchildren, Anne Hunn and Jonathan Walker Mifflin, to take care of and administer to the necessities and relief of such Black people as myself and former wife Anne emanu-mitted, and are or may be in circumstances any ways not able to help themselves, according and in proportion to what they have received of mine and my said wife's Anne estate.

Then he makes his sons, Warner and Daniel Mifflin his executors. Dated 22nd December 1795. Probated April 27, 1796.

Volume 1794-96, page 365. A. C. V.

WILL OF WARNER MIFFLIN.

WARNER MIFFLIN—

I, Warner Mifflin, of Kent County, State of Delaware, being of sound and disposing mind and memory, at present favored with a good state of bodily health, and expecting in a few days to set off to attend our yearly meeting in Philadelphia, that City being at this time visited with an epidemic disorder of which great numbers dye, by accounts received, and great part of the inhabitants in consequence thereof have left the City. It feels awful to undertake this journey, but believing it my duty to proceed therein, having nothing in view but to be found in the discharge thereof to him who gave me a being, and who I have faith to believe can preserve me even amidst the raging pestilence, if he is so pleased to do, however, I desire to be resigned to his holy will therein, as I believe it my duty to be: do therefore proceed in this manner to dispose of my temporal concerns in the best manner I am at present capable, hereby declare in this to be my last will and testament as follows;—

Imprimis. I give and bequeath to my beloved wife, Ann Mifflin, all the money owing and payable unto me on Bond note, for rent in the city of Philadelphia and adjacent thereto, being part of her maiden property, which said bonds, etc. now alluded to are in pos-

session of her mother, Anne Emelin, amounting the principal, interest and rent, to near two thousand pounds including sixteen hundred pounds I settled on her by a deed of trust legally executed and now in the hands of her brother, James Emelin, one of the Trustees therein named: some of those Bonds and notes are in my said wife's own maiden name, others in mine. I also give and bequeath to my said beloved wife all the household furniture that came by her of every kind that can be found, also my best rideing carriage and her choice of the horses for a carriage horse, two work horses, one plow and harrow with their appurtenances, the best I have, six cows, her choice out of my whole stock for milk, a good yoke of oxen and oxcart; likewise three of my best beds and appurtenances to them belonging. I also give and bequeath unto my beloved wife that part of my mansion plantation to be divided from the other part by a line beginning near the bridge by Dr. McKees fence, so as to leave some of the turn of the low ground for a watering place to my children's field, next the county road, then to run so as to include all the low ground to my wife's part within my plantation fence, as the same now runs through the branch, on the line between me and the heirs of John Banning, where Willes now lives, from the line aforesaid, the line of Banning's land aforesaid to Tidbury branch with said branch and the State road, as to include all the land I hold of the tract called Gains-

borough, together with the houses, buildings, appurtenances to my said wife for and during her natural life.

Item. I give and bequeath to my beloved son Samuel E. Mifflin the above devise tract of land devised his mother after her decease, according to the above described metes and bounds to him, his heirs, and assigns forever.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Lemuel Mifflin my marsh plantation in Little Creek adjoining lands of George Buck and Garrett Sipple, said to contain three hundred acres of upland, with the whole of my marsh thereto adjoining, to him my beloved son, Lemuel Mifflin, to be possessed and enjoyed when he shall arrive to twenty-one years of age, to be holden from thence forward to him and his heirs forever. The use and benefit of my said plantation now devised to my son Lemuel, I give and bequeath to my beloved wife till he my said son shall arrive to the age of twenty-one, out of which she is to raise and school my said son.

Item. I give and bequeath to my beloved wife twenty acres of meadow ground on cow marsh to be laid off where I have been clearing and ten acres of contiguous woodland for timber to fence the same, for and during her natural life.

Item. I give and bequeath all the residue of my land at Cow Marsh on the side of the public road that John Keys lives, including the plantation said Keys

lives on, as also one hundred and eight and half acres of land that I have purchased in company with my brother, Daniel Mifflin and Jonathan Hunn from Aron Oakford, my half being the quantity for which there is not a deed to us as yet from Oakford, tho' I have the legal title vested to me by a former deed, in which this land is included. This last described land I give unto my son Samuel, provided my beloved wife pays the remainder of the purchase money, my part to Aron Oakford, to be my son Samuel Emlin Mifflin's on his arrival to twenty-one years of age (his mother, my beloved wife, to have the rents and profits till he my said son shall arrive to twenty-one years of age) and to his heirs and assigns forever.

Item. I also give and bequeath unto my said son Lemuel at his mother's death the twenty acres of meadow ground and ten acres of woodland adjoining, to him and his heirs forever.

Item. The residue and remainder of my estate both real and personal I give and bequeath to my children by my first wife, to witt, Warner Mifflin, Elizabeth Cowgill, Ann Rasin, Susanna Mifflin and Sarah Mifflin in equal portions share and share alike, counting the several sums that I have paid to my two son-in-laws, Clayton Cowgill and Warner Raisin, as by my books will appear; the other children to have all made up equal to what my daughter Elizabeth hath received by her husband as aforesaid, then to be equally divided the residue to them share and share

alike—by this is intended all the lands that I have in possession not only in my own right, but such as I hold in the right of my first wife; the whole of the lands I hold in Marshyhope is in my own right and those at the manor, also the last I had valued, intending to pay my children the value, but by this will I do give the whole among them, and enjoin that they shall stand by this my will, and convey by release each to the other as they come of lawful age, that the division when made shall be fully confirmed, and I do hereby nominate my beloved brother Daniel Mifflin and my brother-in-law Jonathan Hunn and Samuel Howell, or any two of them, to make all the divisions among my said children that I have directed by this will, and to lay off the meadow ground and upland to my wife at cow marsh.

Item. My will and desire is that if my beloved wife should be pregnant at this time, or any time during my life, that such issue male or female, and to this, I give and bequeath the whole of the land at cow marsh devised to my son Samuel Emlin Mifflin, except the thirty acres devised to his mother for life, to such issue of my said wife, as also the plantation on the other side of cow marsh lately purchased of George Cummins when such issue shall arrive to lawful age. to be possessed thereof their heirs and assigns forever; the rents and profits thereof to be the right of my beloved wife till such lawful age, and further it is my will and desire that a further sum of four hun-

dred pounds shall within four years next after my decease be paid by my executors hereafter named out of the estates of my five children residuary Legatees as aforementioned, that is to say, one hundred pounds per year into the hands of my beloved wife, to and for the use of such issue should any such be, to be paid to such issue when of lawful age.

State of Delaware }
 Kent County } ss.

Personally appeared Daniel Mifflin and Jonathan Hunn and Samuel Howell before me the subscriber who being respectively affirmed do say that the within and foregoing instrument of writing, said to be the last will of Warner Mifflin, dec'd, is in the proper handwrit of the said Warner Mifflin dec'd, in testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand this 17th day of January A. D. 1799.

JOHN LAWS, Register.

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF ANNE
 EMLÉN MIFFLIN.¹

Anne Emlen Mifflin's will was dated 1811, and letters of administration with the will annexed were issued to her son Lemuel, 12 April, 1815, with Samuel E. Howell and Joshua Emlen as securities. There were bequests to her sons, Samuel E. and Lemuel.

¹ "Memoranda of the Mifflin Family," by J. H. Merrill, p. 49.

A NOTE ON THE MIFFLIN HOMESTEADS.

The Mifflin homestead, called "Fountain Green," founded by John Mifflin the emigrant, was situated in Fairmount Park, in the ravine below and to the west of where now stands the Smith Memorial Children's Playhouse, and to the east of the Benedict Arnold house. A guard in the employ of the Park for over twenty years remembered seeing the house in 1871, and described it as a large house, with pillars supporting the front porch. All that now marks the site is the spring in the rear of the house and the stumps of two giant chestnut trees that stood in front of the house.

"Pharsalia," in Accomac Co., Virginia, is still standing, and is described by a recent visitor (1903) as having been a fine house in its day. The plantation, which was an extensive one, is near Franklin City, and commands a good view of Chincoteague Bay and Island.

"Chestnut Grove," near Camden, Delaware, is still in a good state of preservation, and is little changed, except that the old nursery back of the parlor is used as a store-room, and the window has been closed that once looked from Warner Mifflin's study into the outer kitchen. The chestnut trees that gave the place its name have all died or been cut down, and

only an old pear tree and some box remain of the original planting.

Through the interest of Warner Mifflin's descendants the fence surrounding the now abandoned Murtherkill, or Motherkill, Burying Ground has been replaced (1904), and a stone bearing the following inscription placed within the lot:

MOTHERKILL BURYING GROUND
WITHIN THIS ENCLOSURE
ARE INTERRED THE REMAINS
OF
WARNER MIFFLIN
FRIEND, PHILANTHROPIST, PATRIOT.
BORN AUGUST 21ST, 1745.
DIED OCTOBER 16TH, 1798.

I N D E X.

INDEX.

Acton, Margaret (<i>m.</i> Griscom)	20	Bowers, Thos.	133
Akarman, John, Sr. and Jr.	24	Bowman, Elizabeth	143
Alison, Samuel	170	Bowne, George	167
Allen, John	127	Brady, Ann	137
Allston, Israel	145, 166	Brinson, Daniel	25
Allston, John,	145	Brock, Ralph	135
Anderson, Cecilia (<i>m.</i> Neall)	19	Brown, Morgan, Jr.	133
Anderson, James	19	Brown, William	158, 164
Andros, Governor	25	Buchanan, John	215
Armitt, Sarah (<i>m.</i> (1) Powell), (2) Mifflin)	14	Buck, George	225
Atkinson, Rachael	137	Buckinham, Howel	133
Bacon, David	199	Budd, John	25
Baker, Daniel	11, 12	Burton, Samuel	206
Baker, Susanna (<i>m.</i> (1) Eyre, (2) Potts, (3) Kendall)	11	Byrnes, Daniel	167
Balfour, Colonel	46, 47	Canby, Samuel	69
Banning, John	224	Chambers, Rebeckah	141, 144
Barratt, Eliza	137	Chance, Batchelder	137
Barratt, Lydia	137	Chase, Joshua Coffin	21
Bartlett, Hannah	133	Cherix, Arthur	218, 219
Bavist, Benjamin	135	"Chestnut Grove,"	16, 38, 229
Benezet, Anthony	59, 167	Chew, Elizabeth Benson (<i>m.</i> Johns)	17
Berry, Mary	107, 108	Churchman, George	72, 170, 177,
Berry, Susannah	210		198
Berry, Thomas	18, 137, 157	Clark, Benjamin	167
Biddle, Owen	177	Clark, William	25
Birkhead, Christo.	131	Clarkson, Thomas	39
Birkhead, Solom.	131	Clayton, Sarah	135, 137
Blades, John	219	Clift, Samuel	25
Bodien, Hannah	133	Coale, Ann (<i>m.</i> Warner)	15
Bodien, Henry	133	Cole, Edward	116
Bowers, John	139, 151, 153, 166	Colebrookdale Furnace	13

- Coombe, Nathaniel 137
 Cooper, David 167
 Corbit, Israel 151
 Corbit, William 151
 Cordery, Deborah (?) 13
 Cordery, Esther (*m. Mifflin*).. 13
 Cordery, Hugh 13
 Corse, Isaac 133
 Corse, Mary 133
 Corse, Michl 133
 Coston, Ezekiel 69, 70
 Cowgill, Clayton.. 18, 109, 137, 226
 Cowgill, Elizabeth 166
 Cowgill, Ezekiel 135, 143,
 144, 145, 148, 149..... 151
 Cowgill, John 109, 139,
 143, 145 151
 Cowgill, John, Jr. 137
 Cox, John 177
 Cox, Susannah 166
 Cresson, James 170
 Crew, John 133
 Cummins, George 227
 Daniel, Elizabeth 135
 Dickenson, Saml. 131
 Dickenson, Walter 131
 Dickenson, Wm. 133
 Dickinson, Hannah 131
 Dickinson, Jno. 104, 131, 140
 Dickinson, Judith 131
 Dickinson, Nancy 133
 Dickinson, Rebecca 131
 Dickinson, Robert, Jr. 131
 Dillwyn, George 167
 Dolby, John 137
 Dolby, Sarah 137
 Dolby, Susan 137
 Dolby, William 137
 Drinker, Henry 170, 198, 199
 Drinker, John 170, 198
 Duncan, George 129, 133
 Dunlap, John 36
 Edmondson, Solomon 131
 Edmondson, Susannah 137
 Edmondson, William 131
 Emlen, Ann (?) 17, 224
 Emlen, Ann (*m. Mifflin*).... 16,
 152, 211-217, 223, 225..... 228
 Emlen, George 17
 Emlen, James 224
 Emlen, Joshua 228
 Emlen, Samuel 158, 170
 Emlen, Samuel, Jr. 164
 Evans, David 167
 Evans, John 177
 Evans, Jonathan 199, 202
 Evans, Rebecca (*m. Mifflin*).. 14
 Eyre, Ann 208
 Eyre, Daniel..... 10-12, 204, 205
 Eyre, Hall 12
 Eyre, John 11, 12
 Eyre, Mary (*m. (1) Littleton,*
 (*2) Mifflin*) 10, 114,
 203, 204, 208 210
 Eyre, Thomas (I.) 11
 Eyre, Thomas (II.) 11, 12
 Eyre, Thomas (grandson of
 Ann) 203
 Fariss (Ferris?), John 107
 Farson, Jane 135
 Farson, William 135
 Ferris, Zecah. 135
 "Fountain Green" 9, 13,
 14, 26, 28-31 229

- Fisher, Alice 166
 Fisher, Fenwick 135, 139
 Fisher, Grace 135
 Fitchell, Thomas 206
 Galloway, Susanna (*m. Johns*) 16
 Garshick, John 131
 Gay, Ebenezer 20
 Gay, Martha Stone 22
 Gay, Martin 22
 Gay, Mary Otis (*m. Willcox*) . 22
 Gay, Sarah Mifflin 22, 38
 Gay, Sidney Howard 20
 Gay, Walter Otis 22
 George, Ann 137
 George, John 137
 Gibbons, Abraham .. 170, 177, 199
 "Golden Quarter" 11, 12
 Goodenow, Annie (*m. Willcox*) 22
 Gore, Thomas 218
 Gore, William 209
 Gorse, Israel 157
 Griseom, Hannah Woodnut
 (*m. Neall*) 20
 Griscom, Dr. John D. 20
 Haines, Caspar W. 106
 Hammon, Mary 135
 Hand, James 137
 Hann, Jonathan 153, 157
 Hann, Patience 157
 Hanson, Samuel 135
 Hanson, Thomas 138
 Hanson, Timothy 135, 137
 Harcastle, Elizabeth 137
 Harcastle, Philip 137
 Hardy, Elizabeth (*m. Mifflin*)
 9, 31, 32 34
 Harrison, Rachel 131
 Hartshorne, Richard 199
 Heaverlon, Daniel 146
 Heil, Jacob 209
 Hickman, Levin 218, 219
 Holiday, Ann 141
 Holland, Nehemiah 127
 Holliday, Robert 148, 151
 Hoops, Esther 141
 Hosier, Mary 133
 Hoskins, John 167, 199
 Hoskins, Robert 25
 Howe, General Sir William, 40,
 46-55, 64, 73, 74, 158, 162... 163
 Howell, Deborah (*m. Mifflin*) . 17
 Howell, Elizabeth 137
 Howell, Isaac 135
 Howell, Samuel ... 18, 149, 227, 228
 Howell, Susanna 131
 Howland, Joseph G. 137
 Hull, David 133
 Hunn, Anne 221
 Hunn, Ezek. 137
 Hunn, Jonathan 137, 141
 Hunn, Jonathan, Jr. ... 18, 226-228
 Hunn, Patience 137
 Hunt, John 199
 Husband, Joseph 15
 Jackson, Isaac 141, 161
 Jackson, William 144
 Jackson, William, Jr. 141
 James, Charles 211
 Janney, Jacob 139
 Jefferys, Sarah (*m. Robinson*) 14
 Jenkins, Hannah 135
 Jenkins, Jabez 133
 Jenkins, Jabez (son of Timo-
 othy) 145

- Jenkins, Jonathan 137
 Jenkins, Joseph 112, 116,
 128, 148 149
 Jenkins, Thomas 137
 Johns, Elizabeth (*m. Mifflin*)
 16, 17, 39, 57 138
 Johns, Jacob 133
 Johns, Kinsey (I.) 17
 Johns, Kinsey (II.) 16, 69
 Johns, Richard 17
 Jones, Griffith 133
 Jones, Mary 133
 Justice, Cecilia 21
 Justice, Hilda 21
 Justice, Mary Cook (*m. (1)*
 Lee, (2) Chase) 21
 Justice, Theodore 20
 Lee, Benjamin 22
 Justice, William Warner 21
 Justice, William Wirt 20
 Kellee, James 129
 Kendall, Mary 11
 Kendall, Lieut.-Col. Wm. 11, 12
 Kendall, William, Jr. 11
 Kennard, Phillip 131
 Kennard, Sarah, Sr. 133
 Kensey, Elizabeth (*m. Johns*) . 17
 Keys, John 225
 Kirkbride, Robert 167
 Kniphausen, General 163
 Kuper, Charlotte (*m. Wal-*
 baum) 20
 Lamb, Joshua 133
 Laurance, Benj. 131
 Laws, Elizabeth (*m. Mifflin*) . 19
 Laws, John 228
 Lay, Baptist 121, 125, 151
 Lay, Philenia 141
 Lee, Leighton (I.) 21
 Lee, Leighton (II.) 22
 Lee, Philip Leighton 22
 Lee, William Justice 22
 Lewis, Henry 32
 Lewis, John 218, 219
 Lightfoot, Thos., Jr. 135
 Lindley, Jacob... 167, 170, 198, 199
 Littleton, Southey 10
 Lowles, Michael 137
 Lucas, Robert and John 25
 Luff, Lydia 137
 Lundy, Jacob 72
 McKay, Alexander 141
 McKee, Dr. 224
 Mason, Benjamin 170, 177
 Mattarris, (?) 133
 Maxfield, Joseph 133, 208, 209
 Maxfield, Stephen 210
 Mifflin, Ann 137
 Mifflin, Ann (IV.) 16, 36, 203, 204
 Mifflin, Ann (V.-1) 17
 Mifflin, Ann (V.-2) 17
 Mifflin, Ann (VI.) (*m. Raisin*)
 18, 226
 Mifflin, Ann H. 137
 Mifflin, Benjamin 36
 Mifflin, Charles 36, 210
 Mifflin, Daniel (IV.) ... 15, 16,
 36, 38, 69, 112, 114, 117, 121,
 122, 125-128, 143, 145, 166,
 207, 208, 210-217
 Mifflin, Daniel (V.) 17,
 125-127, 154, 155, 210, 220,
 222, 226-228
 Mifflin, Daniel, Jr. 137
 Mifflin, Debby 137

- Mifflin, Edward (III.)10,
 35, 36, 205 209
 Mifflin, Edward (V.) 17
 Mifflin, Edward (son of Samuel) 210
 Mifflin, Eleanor9, 27, 32
 Mifflin, Elizabeth (?) 13
 Mifflin, Elizabeth (?) 14
 Mifflin, Elizabeth (*m. Oram*)
 13, 35 36
 Mifflin, Elizabeth (IV.) 36
 Mifflin, Elizabeth (V.-1) 18
 Mifflin, Elizabeth (V.-2) (*m.*
 Howell)18, 221
 Mifflin, Elizabeth (VI.-1) 18
 Mifflin, Elizabeth (VI.-2) (*m.*
 Cowgill)18, 109, 226
 Mifflin, Eyre (*m. Berry*) 18,
 157 221
 Mifflin, George (III.) ...13, 35, 36
 Mifflin, George (IV.) 36
 Mifflin, George (V.) 210
 Mifflin, Hannah 19
 Mifflin, Jane (*m. Waller*) 14,
 35 36
 Mifflin, John (I.)9, 24,
 25;27, 31, 32, 34 38
 Mifflin, John (II.)9, 24,
 25, 27, 31, 32, 34, 38 207
 Mifflin, John (III.) ..13, 35, 36, 205
 Mifflin, John (IV.) (son of Ed-
 ward)15, 36
 Mifflin, John (IV.) (son of
 George) 36
 Mifflin, John (IV.) (son of
 John) 36
 Mifflin, Jonathan 14
 Mifflin, Colonel Jonathan 29
 Mifflin, Jonathan ("the His-
 torian")14, 29, 35, 36
 Mifflin, Jonathan, "Senior"
 33, 34, 37
 Mifflin, Jonathan Walker.137,
 220 221
 Mifflin, Lemuel19, 137,
 157, 225, 226 228
 Mifflin, Mary (dau. of Samuel) 210
 Mifflin, Mary (dau. of Southey) 210
 Mifflin, Mary (V.) 17
 Mifflin, Mary (VI.)18, 210
 Mifflin, Mary Ann 19
 Mifflin, Mary H. 137
 Mifflin, Patience (III.) 13, 35, 36, 37
 Mifflin, Patience (IV.) 36
 Mifflin, Patience (V.) (*m.*
 Hunn)18, 221
 Mifflin, Rebecca (*m. Rowland*)
 18, 221
 Mifflin, Samuel 133
 Mifflin, Saml. 137
 Mifflin, Samuel (III.) ...14, 35, 36
 Mifflin, Samuel (IV.) (son of
 Edward) ...16, 36, 207, 208, 210
 Mifflin, Samuel (IV.) (son of
 Jonathan) 36
 Mifflin, Samuel Emlen, ...19,
 157, 225,226-228
 Mifflin, Sarah (IV.) (dau. of
 George) 36
 Mifflin, Sarah (IV.) (dau. of
 Jonathan) 36
 Mifflin, Sarah (V.-1) 17
 Mifflin, Sarah (V.-2) 18
 Mifflin, Sarah (VI.) 18

- Mifflin, Sarah (VI.) (*m. Neall*)
 19 226
 Mifflin, Sarah Ann 137
 Mifflin, Southey (IV.) 16,
 36, 207 208
 Mifflin, Southey (V.) 210
 Mifflin, Susanna 19, 226
 Mifflin, Major-General Thomas 43
 Mifflin, Walker 17, 121, 125
 Mifflin, Warner (V.) 16,
 121, 125, 127, 128, 135, 137,
 138, 158, 164-167, 170, 177,
 198, 199, 210-217, 219 222
 (See also Table of Contents).
 Mifflin, Warner (VI.) 18, 226
 Miller, Mark 177, 198, 199
 Mills, John 204
 Mooney, Thomas 106
 Morine, John I. M. 206
 Morris, Jam R. 217
 Morris, Joshua 158, 164
 Morris, Thomas 170, 198, 199
 Neall, Adelaide Walbaum 21
 Neall, Anna Vaughan (*m. Jus-*
 tice) 20
 Neall, Cecilia Helen 21
 Neall, Charlotte Walbaum.... 21
 Neall, Daniel (I.) 19
 Neall, Daniel (II.) 19
 Neall, Daniel (III.) 21
 Neall, Eliza Townsend (*m. Jus-*
 tice) 20
 Neall, Elizabeth Johns (*m.*
 Gay) 20
 Neall, Frank L. 20
 Neall, Jonathan 137
 Neall, Josephine 21
 Neall, Margaret Acton 21
 Neall, Sarah 19
 Neall, Warner Mifflin 19
 Neech, Ann (*m. Eyre*) 10, 203
 Needham, Phebe 133
 Needles, Edward 137
 Needles, Elizabeth 137
 Needles, Trustrem (?) 107
 Nelson, Susannah 210
 Newlin, Eliza 137
 Newlin, Sarah Ann (*m. Mifflin*) 18
 Newlin, William 137
 Nock, Anne 203-205
 Nock, Daniel 133, 203, 210
 Nock, Ezekiel 135, 203
 Nock, James 210
 Nock, Patience 204
 Nock, Sarah 135, 203-205
 Nock, Sarah, Jr. 135
 Nock, Thomas 137, 204, 205
 Oakford, Aaron 226
 Oram, Benjamin 13
 Otis, Mary Allyn (*m. Gay*) ... 20
 Ozburn, Eunice 135
 Ozburn, Jonathan 135
 Parrish, John 167, 198, 199
 Paschal, Isaac * 37
 Paxson, Oliver 72, 199
 Peirce, Andrew 133
 Pemberton, James ... 167, 170, 177
 Penn, William 26, 27, 31
 "Pharsalia" 10, 16, 229
 Potts, Captain Francis 11
 Potts, Joseph 170, 177
 Powell, Danl. 131
 Powell, Danl., Jr. 131

- Powell, Howell 131
 Powell, John 131
 Powell, Sarah 131, 133
 Powell, William 14
 Pusey, Joshua 15, 170
 Pusey, Mary (?) 15
 Pusey, Mary (*m.* (1) Husband,
 (2) Mifflin) 15
 Rasin, Abraham 133
 Rasin, Eliza M. 137
 Rasin, George 133, 212
 Rasin, Margaret 133
 Rasin, Mary 133
 Rasin, Warner 18, 226
 Rasin, William 133
 Revell, Thomas 25
 Richardson, Ann 133
 Richardson, Benj. 133
 Richardson, Thos. 133
 Robertson, Ann 210
 Robinson, Richard 14
 Robinson, Sarah (*m.* Mifflin). 14
 Rowland, Isaiah, 137, 149, 153, 166
 Rowland, Joseph Galloway... 18
 Rowland, Ruth 137
 Rowle, Hezekiah 133
 Rutter, Thomas 163
 Savage, Thomas, Jr. 10
 Savery, William 104, 170, 177
 Scott, Job 71
 Selby, John 215, 216
 Seston, Mary 141
 Sharp, Peter 131
 Sharp, Wm. 131
 Sharples, Rachel 137
 Sibly, Thomas 25
 Simpson, John 154, 170, 193
 Sipple, Garrett 225
 Smith, Jane, Jr. 166
 Smith, Samuel 129, 219
 Spavold, Samuel 135
 Starr, James 112
 Stephens, John 131
 Stephens, Magda. 131
 Stevens, Elizabeth 133
 Stewardson, Thomas 199
 Stone, Julia De Witt (*m.* Gay) 22
 Stone, William F. 22
 Sturgis, Outlis 215, 216
 Tatnel, Joseph 170
 Thomas, Rebecca 133
 Thompson, Dowd 133
 Thornton, James 74, 158, 164
 Troth, Eliza, Jr. 131
 Troth, Henry 131
 Troth, Samuel 198
 Truett, Solomon 135
 Trulock, Henry 133
 Wainwright (?) 137
 Walbaum, Rev. Adolphus 20
 Walbaum, Wilhelmina (*m.*
 Neall) 20
 Walker, Ann (*m.* Mifflin) 15,
 121, 125
 Walker, John 15
 Waller, John 14
 Waln, Nicholas 158, 159,
 164, 170, 173, 176, 182, 198, 199
 Walton, John 209
 Warner, Joseph 15, 133, 211
 Washington, George... 40, 56,
 64, 73, 74, 158, 162-164
 Webb, Mary 131
 Webb, Sarah 131

Webb, Sary, Jr.	131	Wilson, George	133
West, Joseph	167, 170	Wilson, James	133
Wethred, John	211 et seq.	Wilson, Patience	135
Wilks, Thos.	133	Wilson, Ruth	135
Willcox, Anna Goodenow	23	Wilson, Sarah	133
Willcox, Daniel	23	Wilson, Thos.	135, 138
Willcox, Elizabeth Neall	23	Wilson, William	141, 166
Willcox, Henry	23	Worcester, Noah	73
Willcox, Sydney Gay	23	Wright, Cecilia (<i>m. Anderson</i>)	20
Willcox, William Goodenow ..	22	Yarnall, Eli	167, 177
Willcox, William Henry	22	Young, Martha (<i>m. Stone</i>)....	22
Wilson, Daniel	135		

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